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# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-189  
Friday  
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# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-189

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## Rwanda

### Rebel Radio Updates Progress of Peace Accord

EA3009183093 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in Kinyarwanda to Rwanda 0415 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Excerpts] The peace accord signed between the Rwandan Government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front [RPF] in Arusha, Tanzania, on 4 August is under way. [passage omitted]

The visit to the United Nations of the joint Rwandan Government and RPF delegation, led by Foreign Minister Anastase Gasana, to inform it of the need to quickly send a military team to Rwanda so that transitional institutions can be put in place as provided by the Arusha Accord, is yet another positive step.

As soon as the [UN military] team arrives in Rwanda, the French troops will have to leave. It is also provided that the RPF will send 600 troops to guard RPF leaders who will participate in the transitional government. The RPF stresses, however, that its troops will not go to Kigali while the French troops are still in Rwanda. It is worth recalling that the French troops fought the RPF-rebels [inkotanyi] forces. Therefore, the latter cannot trust the uncompromising behavior of the French troops.

Nothing is perfect. We have just talked about the good things being achieved, but many are the evils that can hamper the accord's implementation. Here we can talk of the actions of the current transitional government under the pretext of ministerial restructuring—i.e., reforming those ministries that have been allocated to the RPF, including the Ministry of Local Government and Communal Development, the Ministry of Health, of Telecommunication, Posts and Transport, and of Youth and the Cooperative Movement.

The above ministries used to belong to the National Republican Movement for Development and Democracy [President Habyarimana's party] before the power-sharing agreement allocated them to the RPF, in addition to the secretariat charged with the refugee repatriation and resettlement of the war displaced. [passage omitted]

## Zaire

### Agreement on Transitional Institutions Detailed

LD3009192593 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 30 Sep 93

[Excerpts] The existence of parallel institutions in our country is over. The participants in the political consultations at the Palais du Peuple have just passed a single constitutional text for the transition period. The text will be called the Constitutional Document of the Transition Period and will be promulgated as a law by the head of

state. Another agreement has been reached on the High Council, which from now on will be called the Parliament of the Transition.

The procedures for the composition, the methods of decisionmaking, the emblems and symbols of the state, and the time limit also found solutions. Here is Kamanda wa Kamanda at the press briefing:

[Kamanda] [passage omitted] As for the report of Commission No. 1 about the problem of the constitutional text of the transition period—a report that had shown up differences—an agreement was reached between the two delegations after consultations between the bureaus of the two delegations.

This agreement deals with the following points:

1. The symbols and emblems of the state during the transition period. The two sides agree to keep to the present state of affairs, while waiting for the constitutional referendum to enable the prime sovereign [the people] to pronounce on this subject.

2. The names of the institutions of the transitional period. The institutions of the transition are:

A. The president of the Republic

B. The High Council of the Republic [HCR]—Parliament of the Transition

C. The government of the transition

D. The courts and tribunals

3. The prerogatives of the president of the Republic. An agreement has been reached between the two delegations on the prerogatives of the president of the Republic, head of state.

4. The Parliament of the Transition. An agreement has been reached between the two delegations on the following points:

A. The need to put an end to the existence of parallel parliamentary institutions during the transition period.

B. The unicameral structure of the Parliament of the Transition.

C. On the procedures for the composition of the Parliament of the Transition. The Parliament of the Transition will be made up on the basis of the principles of fair and balanced representation without exclusions, between the political forces, on the basis of the following objective criteria:

i. The current members of the HCR. ii. The members of the National Assembly, with the exception of the 44 substitutes who were sworn in after the expulsion of the opposition parliamentary group. iii. By coopting those negotiators who are neither members of the HCR, nor deputies [words indistinct] so that all the zones of the Republic can be represented.



In order to compensate for the any imbalance caused by death, resignation, incompatibility, or destitution, each party will make up its numbers by taking the names of the person or people to act as replacements from among people who had attended the conference, or from among the substitutes from the National Assembly. In each case, the name of the replacement shall be submitted to the bureau in order to be validated. [no further numbering of paragraphs as heard]

Methods of decisionmaking within the High Council of the Republic—Parliament of the Transition. After consultation between the representatives of the political forces, decisions relative to questions of national importance will be made by consensus. The list of these questions will be drawn up later.

For other questions, and for the sake of the stability of the institutions, the decisionmaking quorum for taking votes will be increased.

Practical procedures for the faithful implementation of the agreements: The practical procedures for the faithful implementation of the agreements which will crown the current political consultations, as far as the problems of the constitutional text of the transition period are concerned, will come under the competence of the transitional parliament.

The text adopted as law will be submitted to the head of state to be promulgated.

The two heads of delegation will nominate a group entrusted with revising the draft text to be submitted to the Parliament of the Transition.

Names of the institutions of the transition period: The names of the institutions of the transition are as follows:

The president of the Republic

The High Council of the Republic—Parliament of the Transition

The government of the transition

The courts and tribunals.

On the government of the transition. An agreement was reached on the following points:

The government of the transition will be fully responsible for the administration of the state. The government

of the transition is answerable for its acts and its administration to the Parliament of the Transition, the High Council of the Republic—Parliament of the Transition, alone.

The prime minister is the head of government.

Mechanism for consultation and collaboration: An agreement was reached first on the need to step up the mechanism of consultation and collaboration between all the institutions of the transition to enable them to function in a harmonious and efficient way without conflict.

Second, the principle of permanent consultation, which among other things will deal with appointments to high-ranking civilian and military posts. A decree discussed in the cabinet will establish the practical procedures.

Designation of the constitutional text of the transition: The constitutional text of the transition will be entitled:

Constitutional Document of the Transitional Period.

The civil list.

The head of state. The two delegations agreed that an article of the constitutional text should provide for this to be fixed by a law.

An agreement was reached by the two delegations on maintaining the deadlines concerning the promulgation of laws and on the possibility for the president of the Republic... [pauses] on the recognized right of the president of the Republic to seek a second reading or a second deliberation on a project.

Finally, agreement was reached on the removal of the deadlines regarding the appointment of high-ranking civilian and military officials in accordance with maintaining the principle of continuous consultation on this matter [as heard].

Ladies and gentlemen, the adoption of this report consecrates the principle of the uniqueness of the constitutional document of the transition period. Such a uniqueness calls for the end of duality in the institutions of the transition period.

Concerning the report of Commission No. 3: The plenary session of political talks will continue discussions at a session tomorrow, Thursday, 30 September 1993 at 1700. The members of the drafting panel of the agreement will also be designated at tomorrow's session, that is on 30 September at 1700.

This is the main result of today's talks. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

## Kenya

### President Moi Defends Government's Human Rights Record

EA2909180093 Nairobi KBC Television Network in Swahili 1258 GMT 29 Sep 93

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi at the opening of the Nairobi International Show at Jamhuri Park—live]

[Excerpts] Very often Kenya has been accused by the international community concerning the human rights [preceding two words in English] issue. I keep asking myself: Who is it that has fled Kenya? How many Kenyans have been exiled because of oppression? None. There are no Kenyan refugees living in exile, because peace has prevailed for the last 30 years since we attained independence.

If we do not love Kenya, then we should not expect to have a peaceful country. Anyone who loves his country would defend it to the last. Whether you are a journalist or whatever, you must realize that this is your country, and if it were to be set ablaze, there would be no way you could flee. There would be no way you could climb a tree and seek refuge. You would be bound to burn with it.

I therefore call on Kenyans to desist from telling lies. People should not expect God's blessings to shower upon them irrespective of what they say and do. We should respect one another so that we may attain progress.

Difficulties that are encountered by the people will continue, and no one, as I have often said, no one will ever come and give us free wealth. I say I'm sorry to anyone who dreams that free wealth will be forthcoming. [passage omitted]

We said in the past that when a multiparty system is introduced, it will create tribalism, divisions, and hatred and so on. This has now taken place. [passage omitted]

## Somalia

### Aidid Representative Calls For Negotiations, Inquiry

AB3009202093 Paris AFP in French 1803 GMT 30 Sep 93

[By correspondent Marie Joannidis]

[Text] Mogadishu, 30 Sep (AFP)—Isse Mohamed Siad, the foreign affairs representative of the Somali National Alliance, SNA, the movement of the Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, today in Mogadishu—where the military situation is relatively calm—called for the formation of a "neutral" commission of inquiry to investigate the charges brought up against the fugitive general, as a "necessary condition for the start of a dialogue."

In an interview with AFP, the SNA official, "who never spends the night twice in the same place," also stated

that the release of General Aidid's close aide, Osman "Ato," could facilitate this dialogue.

He was of the view that "something was changing and that the United States and the United Nations have begun to understand that they cannot continue with this senseless war."

"They came to help the Somali people but their operational method has become one of destruction, bombardments, and arrests with no recourse to law—but rather to the use of force and the barrel of a gun."

He also said the start of a dialogue would lead to discussions concerning a cease-fire between UN and SNA Forces.

"They started the war by saying that Aidid was a criminal, so we have requested a commission of inquiry into what transpired on 5 August to be set up," he said. On that day, 24 Pakistani peacekeepers died following an ambush—the United Nations is searching for Gen. Aidid to question him about his responsibility for the attack.

"Since 5 June, we have lost 1,500 men—and more than 3,000 Somalis have been wounded," Mr. Isse stated.

"Lately, UN sources in New York as well as the Americans and the French have notably stressed the need to find a political solution to the Somali crisis. "One must establish responsibility for this death and destruction... If Aidid is responsible, he must answer for that, if it is Jonathan Howe, the UN special representative in Somalia, he must also answer for that," Mr. Isse said, indicating that Gen. Aidid has officially declared that he is ready to stand trial.

The Somali warlord went underground after 5 June, and on 17 June the Security Council directed its forces in Mogadishu to search for him.

The SNA official rejected "any maneuvers to isolate Gen. Aidid from his movement" and said "we have already proposed a cease-fire but we have not received any response from the United Nations."

"We are still waiting," he said and added that his movement had not given any orders for Americans or other foreigners to be taken hostage. "This is a pretext to evacuate journalists and representatives of nongovernmental organizations, who can see and report what is happening here, from the country."

He also accused the Pakistani forces of "being at the service" of the Americans. "These are the only ones who immediately obey any orders given by the most junior U.S. soldier," he said. Somalis have nothing against them but "the majority of the people have been killed by Pakistani soldiers," Mr. Isse stated. He also accused the Americans, "particularly, the Rangers" and "the Delta anti-terrorist commandos" of taking part in this repression."

He said "dialogue can help to restore a cease-fire, but Somalis prefer to die free rather than live under the control of someone who crushes them."

Mr. Isse also ridiculed a meeting which started today in Northern Mogadishu—the stronghold of Mohamed Ali Mahdi, another warlord—and which is being attended by a dozen groups “under UN protection,” stressing that most of the delegates represent only themselves.

### **Somaliland Legislators Approve Government, 2-Year Plan**

*EA3009133593 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] The parliament of Somaliland has this morning officially approved the members of the Government Council for the country and the government program for the two-year transitional period. The 47 members of parliament voted unanimously for the approval of the government of Somaliland: 37 MP's voted for the government program, while seven voted against and three abstained. Before the approval of the government and its program, Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the president of the republic of Somaliland, was asked questions about the system of administrative division of the country, the police of Mandheera, separation of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Justice, the numerous government personnel, and others, which he fully answered.

### **Two New Ministers Appointed in Somaliland**

*EA3009131593 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] A statement from the office of President Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal of the republic of Somaliland has announced the appointment of new ministers to the cabinet. The newly named ministers are:

1. Minister of defense, Mohamed Ismail Bulale.
2. Minister of planning, Osman Abdullahi Saylii.

The statement adds that the president will soon release the names of the remaining two portfolios, namely the minister for fisheries and ports and the minister of reconstruction and resettlement.

### **Somaliland Council of Ministers Appoints Army Chief**

*EA3009123593 (Clandestine) Radio Hargeysa Voice of the Republic of Somaliland in Somali 1200 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] A statement from the regular session of the Council of Ministers of Somaliland said that the commander of the national army of Somaliland had been appointed. The statement added that at the Council of Ministers' session this morning chaired by the president of the republic of Somaliland, Mr. Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the defense minister of Somaliland proposed Hasan Ali Abokor as commander of the Somaliland army. The Council of Ministers approved the appointment.

The reports added that the Council of Ministers also ratified the government official secrets act, which was placed before the Council of Ministers by the president of Somaliland. The Council of Ministers also approved the tariffs for shipping in all Somaliland ports, which was proposed by the minister of commerce and industries. The Council of Ministers also ratified the Somaliland telephone tariffs, which were placed before the ministers by the minister for telecommunications and posts.

The Council of Ministers session at the presidency was held in an excellent atmosphere.

## **Uganda**

### **Ten Senior Army Officers Voluntarily Retire**

*EA3009173093 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1400 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Excerpts] Ten senior [Army] officers last evening voluntarily retired from active military service. Their retirement is part of phase two of the ongoing demobilization exercise, where soldiers are allowed to voluntarily ask for retirement. [passage omitted]

Speaking at their retirement ceremony at the (Kasha) Army officers' mess yesterday, the Army chief of staff, Brigadier Sam Nanyumba, praised the decision of the senior officers to retire. He said the voluntary retirement of the officers made a great turning point in the history of Uganda's Armed Forces, where for the first time soldiers retire at their will, in contrast to the past where soldiers were either killed or demobilized en masse following the overthrow of government. The chief of staff said the National Resistance Army found it difficult to relieve itself of the dependable and well-trained officers, but they had a sound reason for leaving the Army.

He told the officers however to note that according to the law, voluntary retirement is not deregiment [as heard], and hence they continue to enjoy some of the privileges in their regiments. [passage omitted]

### **Exiles Led by Former Official Return From Tanzania**

*EA3009090093 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1400 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] The chairman RC [Resistance Committee] Five, Gulu, Mr. Severino Lanek, has welcomed the return of Ugandan exiles from Tanzania led by Mr. Paul Amule Otiti, a former Ugandan high commissioner to Tanzania.

In a press release issued in Gulu yesterday [28 September], Mr. Lanek said the people of Gulu received with great pleasure the news of the return of Mr. Otiti, who is a seasoned politician, and hoped this would increase the great diversity of mature political views in Gulu District in general and Omoro County in particular. He called on other Ugandans still outside to return home and thanked the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government for its effort in encouraging Ugandan exiles to come back home.

**De Klerk Comments on Volksfront, Receives British Team**

*MB3009195893 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] State President F.W. de Klerk has rejected as a smokescreen the Afrikaner Volksfront's [National Front] motivation for its suspension of bilateral talks with the government, but he said far-right political groups would not be ignored and everything possible would be done to get talks with the Volksfront on the road again.

[Begin De Klerk recording] Let me say that the reason advanced for the cancellation—namely, that it is related to what I said while I was overseas—I really find astonishing and cannot describe it as anything else but a smokescreen, because I haven't said anything overseas with regard to my point of view and my party's point of view on the issue of self-determination, which we accept as a principle on the issue of the practicability of a separate Afrikaner volkstaat [nation state]—which I have not said here publicly in Parliament. The far-right is an important element in politics. They cannot be ignored, and I want agreements reached to be as inclusive as possible. Therefore, we will in the next days and weeks be working very hard to get those bilateral discussion on track again. [end recording]

Today Mr. de Klerk also received a high-powered delegation from the British Parliament. British Conservative Party members Mr. Peter Temple-Morris and Sir (James Spicer), as well as Labor Party member Donald Anderson, are in the country as part of the Westminster Liaison Committee consulting local leaders on the future political scene. Although they acknowledged that the British parliamentary system had overstayed its welcome in the South African political context, they will meet with and consult with political leaders on voter education and the new multi-level parliamentary system envisaged for South Africa.

**Government, KwaZulu Officials Meet on Return to Talks**

*MB3009183893 Johannesburg SABA in English 1756 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Durban Sept 30 SABA—A high level team of government negotiators met kwaZulu leaders in Durban on Thursday as part of a series of bilateral talks between the two parties aimed at facilitating kwaZulu's return to negotiations. The South African Government was represented by its chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and included Ministers Leon Wessels, Dawie de Villiers and Reiner Schoeman. The kwaZulu delegation was led by Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr. Ben Ngubane.

They were scheduled to meet for three hours at Durban's airport on Thursday. A spokesman for Mr. Meyer, Izak Retief, said it was unlikely that either party would make any public statements after the meeting in case that might threaten future talks. "They're very tight-lipped

because this is a series of meetings and they don't want to make statements that might jeopardize future negotiations."

Mr. Retief said earlier that previous talks between the two parties had been constructive. Earlier this week senior leaders of the African National Congress flew to the kwaZulu capital of Ulundi to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi where they discussed constitutional issues and violence.

The kwaZulu government withdrew from multiparty negotiations earlier this year and lost a Supreme Court battle when it challenged the sufficient consensus decision-making mechanism through which April 27 was set as the election date.

**PAC Says OAU Lifting of Sanctions 'Too Much Too Soon'**

*MB3009151093 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] As you may have heard on the news, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] has lifted economic sanctions against South Africa with immediate effect. Although the move has been generally welcomed, the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] says it's too much too soon. PAC foreign affairs representative Gora Ebrahim:

[Begin Ebrahim recording] The present lifting of sanctions either by the OAU or by the United Nations or by the individual countries themselves, to the man in the townships and in the street will prove meaningless. Until and unless we agree to solve the issue of violence in our country and there is a political dispensation emanating out of a democratic process, nobody is going to invest in our country. Our position has been that we're not opposed to the lifting of sanctions per se, but it's the question of the timing of the sanctions and who should call for it. We now have in our country a multiparty negotiation process, and I believe that every African country supports that negotiation process. We would have thought the correct thing to do would be for the call for the lifting of sanctions to come from the representative multiparty negotiation process rather than an individual, because then they are not helping us or the country toward bringing about the change that we would like in order to carry all the people in order to achieve the change. [end recording]

**Teachers' Union Throws Weight Behind ANC for Elections**

*MB2909164493 Johannesburg SABA in English 1539 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 29 SABA—The South African Democratic Teachers' Union [SADTU] is to apply for immediate affiliation with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and throw its weight behind the African National Congress [ANC] election campaign. The union made these announcements in a statement on



Wednesday after a two-day National Council meeting in Johannesburg. SADTU also suggested five of its office bearers be included in the African National Congress' election list. They are Shepherd Mdladlana, Randall van den Heever, Duncan Hindle, Ismail Vadi and Thami Mseleku.

### **COSATU Welcomes Affiliation**

*MB3009163993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1514 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 30 SAPA—The Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] has welcomed the decision of the 70,000-strong South African Democratic Teacher's Union [SADTU] to become an affiliate of the federation. COSATU said in a statement on Thursday this was the culmination of a long relationship with SADTU which had until now enjoyed observer status at COSATU conferences.

COSATU had played an active role in encouraging the formation of SADTU, which would become its 15th affiliate. SADTU would make a vital contribution to COSATU by:

- swelling the ranks of professional and white-collar workers organised in the federation and encouraging others to join, thereby combating the narrow view that professionals could not be part of the trade union movement;
- being an important component of COSATU's public sector union to be launched in May, 1994;
- playing a vital role in voter education of workers; and
- reinforcing COSATU's efforts to restructure the education system.

SADTU's affiliation would bring COSATU closer to its target of 1.5 million paid-up members by its September, 1994 congress. The addition of SADTU would bring COSATU membership to 1.3 million. SADTU's application for affiliation was expected to be enthusiastically endorsed when COSATU's Central Executive Committee met from October 15 to 17.

### **Angolan Representative Says RSA 'Channel' to UNITA**

*MB3009200193 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] The chief Angolan representative in South Africa, Mr. Manuel Augusto, has accused South Africa of being a channel for the transport of fuel, diesel, and other logistical supplies to UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Speaking in Pretoria on the anniversary of the first democratic elections in Angola a year ago, Mr. Augusto said that mining companies were a front organization for providing supplies to UNITA. Estelle Pienaar reports:

[Pienaar] Mr. Augusto said he had personally taken up the matter with South Africa's foreign affairs minister, Pik Botha. He was given a commitment from the South African Government that it would fight the illegal transport of supplies to UNITA, but Angola has expressed doubt that South Africa will carry out this promise. He stressed that the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government in Luanda was still committed to finding a peaceful solution for the country and had a framework for bringing the conflict to an end. Mr. Augusto said this was the last opportunity for UNITA to return to the peace process.

### **Swaziland Proposes Full Diplomatic Relations**

*MB3009181893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1613 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 30 SAPA—South Africa has agreed to establish full diplomatic relations with Swaziland, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced. Swaziland proposed the full diplomatic relations, which was welcomed by Pretoria in the light of the friendly relationship between the two over the years. "It is furthermore of particular importance in view of Swaziland's current chairmanship of the Southern African Development Community," said Mr. Botha.

### **Finance Minister Keys Addresses IMF, World Bank**

*MB2909172493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1636 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Washington Sept 29 SAPA—South Africa is on the brink of a full normalisation of its global financial relations as the country is set to resume full membership of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, says Derek Keys.

In an address to the annual meetings of the IMF and bank in Washington, the finance minister said South Africa could now look forward to establishing and enhancing trade and financial ties with the international community. "On the occasion of last year's annual meetings, I remarked that I hoped it would be the last occasion that South Africa would address these meetings as a 'non-normal' member of the Bretton Woods Institutions. We've nearly made it."

South Africa's re-integration was already well underway with its crucial re-classification as a part two or developing country under the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency [MIGA], an agency of the World Bank.

Part Two country classification would enable MIGA to insure foreign investors against primarily political risks as they moved capital into South Africa, compared with Part One type or industrialised countries in which instance MIGA could only insure South African firms investing abroad. "We also look forward to the IFC

[International Finance Corporations] commencing operations and will work closely with the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] to develop programmes that will reduce poverty and create employment," Mr. Keys told the IMF and bank governors.

The International Finance Corporations and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are also agencies of the World Bank group. The IFC provides lending to private enterprises engaged in infrastructure, power and telecommunications projects, while the IBRD makes loans to governments for social development like education, housing and health.

Mr. Keys pointed out the resumption of normalised trade and financial relations had been made possible by the "momentous events of the last few days". Parliament passed key democratic legislation allowing blacks for the first time a say in government last week while African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela called on the world to scrap non-military sanctions against South Africa. This cleared the way for the country's renewed access to IMF funds for the first time since 1982 and World Bank assistance last sought in the 1960s. "The fundamental point is that South Africa now is set in every respect to resume normal membership," Mr. Keys enthused.

However, the country still had to join a constituency on the executive boards of the Bretton Woods Institutions, but he expected South Africa to have resolved this before next year's elections of directors to the IMF and bank boards.

He credited the rapid resumption of the country's global financial relations to the economic consensus achieved between the government and South Africa's political parties. The ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha as well as white parliamentary parties have since may been part of an "economic transitional council" initiated by Mr. Keys. "We have already made an encouraging start in establishing a credible track record," he said, referring to the united South African application for an 850 million US dollar relief loan from the IMF's, revised tariff offer to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, and deal on the final rescheduling of standstill debt.

"(Those agreements) involve all the major political groupings in the country and are a manifestation of the co-operative spirit and sense of financial responsibility that now exists in our country," Mr. Keys said. This would help to meet the typical IMF and bank conditionalities on lending to countries around the world.

He said South Africa's transition towards a non-racial democracy needed to be underpinned by a fast growing economy that led to an improvement of living standards throughout the population. "An appropriate amount and mix of foreign funding, will be a crucial element in any future economic strategy. Responsibly managed, it

makes possible greater immediate fulfillment of expectations and will also enable the economy to achieve a higher rate of growth."

Mr. Keys said South Africa faced a daunting challenge in reconciling expectations and reality as the country moved towards its first all-race elections in April next year. "With the assistance of our host institutions (IMF and World Bank), the markets and the international community this can and will be done," he said.

The government, the ANC and other political parties in the South Africa delegation are expected to conclude arrangements with the IMF, the bank and its agencies on the technical details of full membership. This includes a commitment to their various conventions as well as determining South Africa's capital subscriptions to the global lending agencies.

The IMF relief loan under its compensatory and contingency financing facility to ease South Africa's foreign reserves pressure from last year's drought is also close to finalisation. The South African delegation would hand over a letter of intent to the IMF shortly, an IMF official said. South Africa is not at this stage seeking World Bank funding.

#### South African Press Review for 1 Oct

MB0110134493

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

Criticism of ANC's "Sudden Love" for Black Policemen—The campaign by the African National Congress (ANC) to rid the townships of white policemen and let them be policed by black policemen who live in the townships, "is patently sinister," remarks the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 30 September. "This sudden love for Black policemen show how false the campaign is. During the unrest in the townships in the early 1980s. Black policemen were the targets of the ANC groups trying to destabilise the townships. Many had their homes burnt down and had to live in tents under protection." "To try and make out now that Black police are suddenly acceptable is nonsense."

#### THE STAR

Hard Liners Gag Afrikaner Front's Viljoen—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 1 October in a page 12 editorial says the Afrikaner National Front's (AVF) decision to terminate talks with the ANC and the government is "premature and regrettable." The talks have "only just begun," and "had kindled hopes that Afrikaner nationalist aspirations could be accommodated within the broader settlement being forged at the multiparty negotiating forum." THE STAR also believes the reasons given for ending the talks is "unconvincing." "The AVF statement refers to pronouncements abroad by Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk, in which

they reportedly reject the idea of an Afrikaner volkstaat [people's state]. These public statements are incompatible with messages conveyed to AVF negotiators in private, the AVF complains." THE STAR says these statements were "seized upon as an excuse to curtail the talks." The "real reason is that Constand Viljoen, the AVF convener who led its team in the dialogue with the ANC, is too verlig [enlightened] for the hard liners in the Conservative Party and the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] who dominate the AVF executive. Viljoen, like Andries Beyer before him, is being shoved aside, if not gagged, for daring to explore the option of a racially open Afrikaner state within a federated South Africa."

**Decimation of Inkatha Leadership Corps**—A second editorial on the same page refers to the killing of Inkatha's kwaThema chairman, the "41st IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader this year to die by an assassin's bullet." "The decade-long hate campaign against Inkatha started as a political stratagem and has become a Frankenstein's monster, all-devouring." "For far too long, the ANC's young firebrands have been left to believe that their leaders tacitly condone a witch-hunt against Inkatha." The "ANC's half-hearted responses to the decimation of Inkatha's leadership corps leaves room for both friend and foe to believe that the routine condemnation is not intended to be taken seriously."

#### BUSINESS DAY

**Negotiators Should Clarify Their Positions on Afrikaner State**—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 1 October in a page 8 editorial says the white right is torn between "the demand for a white homeland where apartheid still rules, and the realisation that some lesser objective may be obtained in negotiations. Some right-wingers will join the new South Africa; the question is whether the others will seek to destroy what they cannot prevent." The longer this "small intolerant minority" is led to believe this is possible, or that negotiators will concede at gun point, the "greater the likelihood of violence when their racist dream is shattered. If a majority of negotiators reject that Afrikaner state, they should say so. They can then divide their attention between dealing with right-wing fears and letting the men of violence know that armed resistance will attract the full force of the state. Threats can work both ways."

#### WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN

**Democratic Party Needs "New Direction"**—A Democratic Party (DP) that "does not find fresh blood, new direction and a renewed spirit will find itself being ground between the wheels of the harsh realpolitik of negotiations and elections," declares the page 16 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English for 1-7 October. "At the moment many people would see a vote for the DP as a wasted vote. If it is to survive the critical first election, it will have to prove to its potential supporters that it has a distinct identity, a clear role and a strong voice." WEEKLY MAIL &

GUARDIAN believes there has "always been a self-delusionary spirit to South African liberalism as represented by the DP. It has often been fostered by a sympathetic media. It is time, however, for tough and realistic appraisal."

**ANC "Pandering to Whites"**—On the same page, Mondli waka Makhanya writes in an article that the ANC has "elevated the mollifying of whites into an art form." As the elections draw closer, and "the prospect of governing becomes a reality, the ANC has resorted to pandering to whites—to get their votes and to persuade them not to emigrate. In the process the ANC's only connection with its core black constituency, has been relegated to offering condolences to bereaved families, consoling violence victims and teaching blacks how to put an X next to the letters ANC." Makhanya believes the ANC should "call the bluff of those who threaten to leave. Unlike Zimbabwe, where there was a white bantustan just across the Limpopo that was willing to shelter white Rhodesians, white South Africans do not have that option. Very few will carry out their threats. And the ANC should remember that blacks have fears and concerns too."

#### BEELD

**New World Economic Community Attitude Toward S. Africa**—"South Africa has regained its dignity as a respectable member of the world's economic community," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 29 September on the eve of the IMF's annual conference which began 28 September in Washington. Early breakthroughs for South Africa appear to be new arrangements in repayment of foreign debt and a promised IMF loan of about 2.9 billion rands. "The regaining of its economic stature is due to the remarkable progress made at political negotiations" which "President Bill Clinton has called a miracle." "The new, positive attitude of the world's economic community offers South Africa a unique opportunity: It is a wave of potential prosperity which has to be ridden carefully and dexterously. Should South Africa fall off, it could miss out for good."

**Criticism of Buthelezi Call for Zulu Armed Units**—Another editorial on the same page says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is "playing with fire" when he calls for Zulu armed units. "If every ethnic group in the country sees the solution to its problems as resting in its own private army, then a lasting conflict will be our doom." Mr. Buthelezi's latest stance comes against the background of question marks over the role which he has been playing recently since absenting himself from the negotiation process. "While calling for Zulu units, he also rejects the Transitional Executive Council." "One wonders what Buthelezi envisages with these Zulu armies" because "no army can hold back the march to democracy."

**\* SACP After Hani's Death Analyzed**

93AF0720C Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English No  
12, 1993 2 pp 54-58

[Article by Paul Bell: "The Space Where There Was a Man"]

[Text] It is the nature of communism to thrive on the conflict of opposites. "Contradiction," wrote Hegel, no less, "is the very moving principle of the world." If that is the principle which today drives the internal workings of the South African Communist Party [SACP], then Chris Hani, its murdered general secretary, seemed the very embodiment of it. Now that the party has lost him, it is forced, anew, to confront certain contradictions.

Chief among them is this: that despite the influence exerted by its members as leaders, theoreticians and strategists in "the struggle," the SACP itself does not have a mass base. The cruel excision of Hani, invaluable as he was to the party, will force the SACP back on its mettle as it seeks a role as a political integer in its own right.

Hani's contrariness made him virtually irreplaceable. He was, most notably, the militant former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe who in the last months of his life called on his supporters to be "soldiers for peace." Nor, by all accounts, was he a particularly "ideological" man. As a young man he flirted with the notion of becoming a Roman Catholic priest; instead he came to embrace what is, arguably, religion's secular counterpart, communism, though he always retained an inner religious devotion. In the final analysis, as an admirer said of him, he simply believed in a better world.

In his 16 months as leader of the SACP, he left the ideologues and strategists to rage at each other over strategy (and rage they did!) while he used his charisma, his credibility and his firm grasp on the reality of the prevailing balance of military and economic forces to bind young militants to the ANC/SACP/Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] Tripartite Alliance.

On several occasions in the months prior to his death, he stated he would not seek election to Parliament or a position in the Cabinet of an interim government. "I want the freedom to criticise from the outside," he told an interviewer: "to lead marches, to organise strikes, to pressurise the new government into doing the right things."

This is a lucid indicator of SACP thinking on its probable direction beyond elections: conscious of the next government's likely inability to satisfy the aspirations of its supporters, the party is already unashamedly distancing itself from the ANC and building its future through the unions and the civic associations where its members hold key posts.

Tony Yengeni, a member of the SACP's central committee and also secretary of the ANC in the Western

Cape—asked where his first loyalties lay—was brutally frank: "The ANC is committed to a non-racial democracy. This is not incompatible with what the party stands for. But now that we are moving towards an election and an ANC government and there is a demand that the ANC de-emphasise its links with the SACP, the question of loyalty will be pushed more strongly."

"My view is that the ANC will inherit a weak economy; and three to five years from now, will not be able to deliver the goods. People will become alienated from the ANC and I don't think the SACP would want to be a part of being alienated from the masses."

Now Hani's martyrdom has offered the party one of its most powerful guarantees against the possibility. It may have ensured the survival of communism's almost mythological appeal among that social class which, although deeply alienated and increasingly difficult to control, it had fallen to Hani to rally and discipline.

Communism, as does religion, speaks widely—indeed, in terms of myth—to the majority of South Africans in relation to their more crudely articulated aspirations for economic justice. African nationalism has been the vehicle that carried the demand for political freedom; now the SACP, as standard-bearer, has come to hold an extraordinary purchase on that mythology.

Two months ago, in Natal, I was foolish enough to ask ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, a Stalinist, and the party's most unreconstructed ideologue, how firmly he remained committed to his beliefs.

"You Christians," he replied, almost pityingly, "Why do you always ask that? Everyone must have a house. Everyone must be dressed, and have food, and water to drink. That is what it says in your Bible."

That's Harry Gwala's communism—and all it needs is revolution.

But contradiction, that "very moving principle of the world," can be relied on to save the SACP from easy victories.

Ideologically, it has had to do some hard back-peddling in the past five years. The collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union have severely undermined the SACP's ability to make a credible contribution to economic policy making. Its latter-day espousal of democratic socialism continues to be embarrassed by the failure of its hardliners to distance themselves from the murderous autocracy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Stalin.

Furthermore, its ability to formulate policy has been circumscribed by a virtual ban on its members attempting to influence policy on sectarian lines.

Organisationally, its membership of the Alliance has required it to submerge its identity and energies in those of its mass-based partners at the expense of its own



cause. While this submergence has had deleterious consequences, it was done for the right reasons, says Dr Tony Holiday, a party member and independent commentator who lectures in philosophy at the University of the Western Cape.

"[The SACP] believed quite correctly that there couldn't be anything like a polevault into socialism in South Africa, that nationalist democratic revolution was a precondition for a socialist revolution, and that the ANC was the only force that could bring that about."

So SACP theoreticians have been locked in acrimonious but, it may be said, open debate in recent months about the party's approach to negotiations and power-sharing.

"The coming of a transitional government is a two-edged sword for the party," says Holiday. "It's the only way they can get into the parliamentary arena and influence policy-making, but it also poses the challenge of surviving there, not merely as individual contributors to parliamentary debate but as a distinctive political entity."

It was national chairman Joe Slovo who fired things up. His contribution to a national settlement, when one is finally reached, may prove to have been among the most significant of all.

His polemic milestone of 1991, "Has Socialism Failed?", was a major mea culpa which party radicals still find hard to swallow—but which did much to force them to confront certain unpalatable objective realities about its track record in exile and the future of Marxism-Leninism.

Last September, as government and the ANC were making the first tentative moves to restart negotiations after the disaster at CODESA 2, Slovo did it again. Writing in the party organ, *THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST*, he suggested a bold concession that might reassure whites and serve as a plank from which everybody could dive back into substantive talks.

But a deafening row ensued inside the party, revealing a deep divergence that foreshadows that which Tony Yengeni predicts for the ANC. On one side are fundamentalists like Gwala and his Midlands lieutenant, Blade Nzimande, who, wearing their ANC hats, command significant militant support on the ground. Included here would be Ronnie Kasrils, a prominent "insurrectionist" and devotee of the so-called Leipzig Option, the mass-protest tactic that contributed to the collapse of East Germany's Honecker regime.

Against them are ranged the pragmatists, grouped around Slovo: Jeremy Cronin and Raymond Suttner who, engaged in the negotiations process, have played a powerful role in shaping the Alliance's theoretical perspectives and strategy. They argue for compromise based on their understanding of the realities of the prevailing balance of forces—political, military, economic—in the country.

Slovo had argued, essentially, that the prevailing balance of forces, nationally and internationally, objectively required the ANC and the government to accept a sort of competitively co-operative relationship to move the peace process forward. The struggle had brought the government to the negotiation table but the Alliance was not dealing with a defeated enemy. The likelihood of it being able to seize power was remote, and the threat of counter-revolution would be constant.

Best, then, to accept the imperfections of a negotiated deal and take matters from there. Slovo also alluded to the problems foisted on the negotiations process by the requirements of mass consultation.

He made four recommendations. Three of them have been accepted by the two major negotiators. They are:

- A limited period of constitutional power-sharing, including so-called "sunset clauses";
- Guarantees to the civil service, including the police-defence establishment;
- An understanding between the ANC and the National Party on the broad parameters that would bind a constituent assembly.

The hardliners were incensed. "The people," said Gwala, "reason differently. They would not accept an empty democracy, where the people had constitutional power, while the actual economic and military power remained in the hands of the ruling class."

Pallo Jordan, the ANC information chief, not a party member but Marxist nevertheless, accused Slovo of mistaking power-sharing for a strategic objective of the Alliance: in the national liberation struggle, Jordan contended, negotiations were aimed "not at composing differences .. but at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics."

Many byways of argument were explored. Thus, Cronin ridiculed the hardliners' millenarian terminology—"liquidation," "smashing," "disappearing off the face of the earth." He curtly underscored his opponents' failure to confront the hard questions—like what they would actually do if negotiations failed.

Hani dealt with Gwala. But what now?

The Party's 30-person central committee's appointment of former Eastern Cape journalist Charles Nqakula to fill the post of general secretary is a stop-gap. "A great organiser," said a party observer of Nqakula, "a great Number Two."

But how will he shape as Number One? His first big moment came when the party held a consultative conference on May 21-22. Full elections will be held at the SACP Congress next year.

In the meantime, there is not likely to be any major reshuffling of posts in the Alliance—or not without

regard for who will be nominated to the ANC's parliamentary electoral lists. Along with some COSATU leaders, SACP members will stand for the coming elections on the ANC list. When that list is finalised, there could be a fair degree of reshuffling in senior posts throughout the Alliance.

There being no need to muster as a parliamentary group at this stage, the SACP gains some breathing space in which to develop the necessary political acumen to complement its theoretical rigour. "When it comes to effective planning, some SACP meetings resemble little more than sociology tutorials," one observer grumbled.

But now that the party has embraced representative, multi-party democracy, there is a significant tendency towards the development of a distinct parliamentary context for the SACP, to complement its presence in the labour and civic movements.

Says Holiday: "If the party is to survive, it must develop, in that parliamentary context, what it has lacked until now—a voice that is specifically its own. That voice would address three areas: the economy and labour policy; the society, in regard to health, housing and education; and the nature of civil society, especially the question of maintaining national unity in a multi-cultural, multi-religious milieu."

The party would also "really have to come to terms in a deeper sense with the religious character of South African society," says Holiday. It's no accident that

many leading cadres in the SACP had intensely religious backgrounds—which helped inform their sense of social justice.

And who, now that Hani is gone, is to calm the Gwalas and Yengenis?

In a pyrotechnical display of opportunism, Yengeni and Winnie Mandela (along with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba) put on a great show in the days following Hani's death.

The militant rallying-cry of Yengeni, Mokaba et al is not without its uses to the ANC which, although distancing itself from the intemperance of their language, deliberately repositioned its mainstream rhetoric in the days after the assassination around the notion of the ANC as a "radical movement." If Hani was a stalking horse for the ANC on the radical left, then the communists and the young lions who have offered their allegiance to the ANC in this phase of the struggle must defend Hani's fallen banner from the ravens of the PAC.

But the emergence of such a new populist group as a distinct entity at this stage would be premature. Its leaders will bide their time until beyond elections—and, most likely, beyond the constitutional debate.

But if and when, as they fully expect, the communists are asked to choose between the SACP and ANC, a rupture could be extremely painful. There would be reasons aplenty on both sides to balk at the consequences.

So the point is: expect nothing dramatic any time soon. History will take care of it.

**Angola****Sao Tomean President Views Talks With Officials**

*MB3009204193 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[News conference given by Sao Tome and Principe President Miguel Trovoada with unidentified correspondents in Luanda on 30 September—recorded]

[Text] Miguel Trovoada left today without disclosing details of his contacts in Angola. Speaking before leaving Luanda, the Sao Tomean president gave a news conference at the 4 February International Airport during which he acknowledged that the Angolan Government is committed to peace. The Sao Tomean head of state did not want to talk about the message that he is carrying for Jonas Savimbi.

[Begin recording] [Trovoada] As I end my visit, I will return to Sao Tome and Principe very hopeful that soon one may move toward peace because I have noticed that the Angolan leaders and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have the greatest will and resolve to really end this fratricidal war that has caused so much destruction and horror in Angola.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have been contacting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. You have come here to talk to the government. What message are you carrying from the government for UNITA?

[Trovoada] If there is any message from the government for UNITA, it will be delivered to UNITA. If there was any UNITA message for the government, it was given to the government. I wish to stress if.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have been acting as a go-between, have you not?

[Trovoada] Look, I have said that Sao Tome and Principe was available for everything that could contribute to the establishment of peace in Angola. Everything!

[Correspondent] Mr. President, although you do not wish to disclose the message you are carrying from the Angolan Government to UNITA, how hopeful are you about your trip to Angola?

[Trovoada] You are the one who is saying that there was a message. I have always spoken about the possibility of a message.

[Correspondent] No, no. It was my colleague.

[Trovoada] I have always spoken about a possibility. By saying that although I did not want to disclose the message, you meant that there was a message. I have not confirmed it. I told your colleague if there was a message, it would be delivered.

[Correspondent] In what mood are you leaving Luanda after your contacts?

[Trovoada] I am leaving Luanda more hopeful that there is a great desire to move toward peace. For me, this desire and commitment are guarantees that the situation could be unblocked if there is the same desire and commitment on the other side. I cannot say when will it be unblocked. This is a slow process.

[Correspondent] If there is the same commitment from the other side, are you skeptical about it?

[Trovoada] You know, the question of being skeptical... [pause] I told the diplomatic corps yesterday that I am from Sao Tome. Sao Tome is a saint that is known for having said, 'seeing is believing'. That means that although the basis of our political posture is good faith and as such prone to believe in the good faith of others, we would like to see concrete moves that substantiate that good faith.

So, that is why we say if there is the will to recognize the election results, then it should be clearly and unequivocally stated. In fact, I have said that it is not enough to privately recognize the election results and the institutions that have been established as a result of those elections. What is necessary is for UNITA's highest echelon—its supreme leader—to make a solemn declaration that could be taken at face value by the international community. Prior to my departure from Sao Tome, I was told that that statement would be made at the end of a meeting of UNITA's Political Commission. I believe that the Political Commission meeting is underway.

Obviously, like we said in the past and wish to reiterate now, we believe that peace will come through negotiations. So, it is necessary for negotiations to resume. Obviously, it should be on a realistic basis, and as safe as possible so that an agreement may be reached in order to end the horrors of the war once and for all. This should be a lasting and solid undertaking.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Angolan people for the brilliant victory of their basketball team at the African championship. I would also like to congratulate the athletes and their managers, and to point out that for us this victory is a good sign of the potential of this extraordinary people of Angola. Despite the precarious war situation and all shortcomings, the Angolan people have managed to show the world their enormous capacity in the sports field. We know, however, that that potential and capacity are not restricted to the sports field. If peace returns to Angola soon—we believe it is inevitable—we feel that the Angolan people will show the world what they are capable of achieving. [end recording]

**UNITA Radio: Government Aircraft Bomb  
Huambo 30 Sep**

*MB3009134193 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo  
Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Huambo was bombed once again today by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA- PT] air force, resulting in civilian casualties. The combat aircraft came from Catumbela Airport, as reported by Lourenco Bento, Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel correspondent in the area:

[Begin Bento recording] The MPLA-PT combat aircraft flew in from Catumbela Air Base. Once again, they intensely bombed Huambo and its inhabitants this morning. The bombers dropped powerful bombs over the city, destroying civilian homes. As always, the victims of this cruel and barbarous action were innocent civilians [words indistinct] including children who died [words indistinct] called for aid [words indistinct] appealing to the international community to (?remain attentive) to (?indiscriminate) massacres by the Luanda government [words indistinct] graveyard will never be done by [words indistinct]. [end recording]

**\* Portuguese Training for Air Force Officers**

*93AF0801C Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in  
Portuguese 1 Sep 93 p 11*

[Text] Portugal is going to train general officers of the Air Force of Angola within the scope of the bilateral technical-military cooperation agreements signed by the two countries. The confirmation was made in Lisbon by Portuguese military sources, cited by LUSA [Portuguese news agency].

A first "crash" introductory course on aerial warfare is starting today [1 September] in Luanda for 10 general officers and for the teachers at the Air Force Studies Institute, and is being given by cadres of its Portuguese counterpart. The course, which is to last until 9 October, includes materials related to techniques of information, resorting to force, and logistics.

The training of Angolan military men will likewise take place in Portugal. It is envisioned that five high-level officers of the FAA [Angolan Armed Forces] will take the general and advanced courses on aerial warfare at the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Air Force during the current school year and another two will attend the Naval Academy, the sources stated.

During this school year, the military academies of the three branches of the Portuguese Armed Forces will admit a total of 22 Angolan students, 14 of whom will go to the Air Force Academy, eight to the Military Academy, and four to the Naval Academy.

In cooperation at the Army level, 42 Angolans are already receiving training as military police in Portugal. Within the last few days, a new group of 39 students has arrived in Lisbon, 25 of whom will receive training at the

Amadora Commando Regiment, 10 in special operations at Lamego, and four in transmissions.

**Botswana**

**Masire Says Economic Growth Affected by World  
Recession**

*MB3009135493 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in  
English 1100 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] The president, Sir Ketumile Masire, says Botswana needs a new engine of growth to sustain its development. In his independence day message to the nation today, he said Botswana's economic growth is now experiencing the effects of the world recession.

He said to rectify the situation the country needs to change its way of doing certain things in addition to fully pursuing its economic diversification policy. Sir Ketumile said out of such changes will emerge increased productivity, the lessening of costs and the production of goods and services, and increased competitiveness in the international market. He said in their economic pursuits the government, individuals, and the private sector have to be more self-reliant as the changing economic climate dictates that subsidies be phased out.

On the international political climate the president called for peace and national unity, particularly in Angola. He appealed to those who have influence over UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to persuade its leader to seek peace with the Government and people of Angola. Sir Ketumile said he is encouraged by the situation in Mozambique and South Africa. He said it is gratifying that negotiations in the two countries remain on course.

**Mozambique**

**\* Public Expresses Opinions on Recent Peace  
Summit**

*93AF0798B Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
28 Aug 93 p B3*

[Article by Refinaldo Chilengue: "Peace Around the Corner"]

[Text] Maputo—The residents of Maputo are following with interest and with some mistrust the meetings that, since Monday, have brought Joaquim Chissano, president of the Republic of Mozambique, and Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] face to face.

The absence of incidents and the optimistic tone of the first declarations are the positive aspects noted by those who believe that direct dialogue will hasten the implementation of the peace accords, while the absence of concrete results at the end of the first week of discussions



reinforces the pessimism of those who say it is a all a game played by the two leaders to bipolarize the political scenario.

Dom Alexandre Maria dos Santos, cardinal of Maputo, belongs to the first group. "I am very optimistic, because Afonso Dhlakama has stated that the Renamo will not take up arms again and I think he is a man of his word. I believe that Mozambique's two principal political-military leaders are not interested in leading the people into another holocaust," the cardinal told EXPRESSO.

According to the primate of the Mozambican Catholic Church, the manner in which the Renamo leader was welcomed on his arrival in Maputo last Saturday "proves that the message of the church is being well received. The population of the capital has shown that it favors reconciliation and forgiveness, not a spirit of vengeance."

Painter Malangatana Vilente Nguenha, the internationally recognized Mozambican plastic artist, also believes that the meeting is a good sign in itself. "because the Renamo and the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] have already come to the conclusion that, in the end, when they fight they are not just killing people in their neighbors' houses; they are decimating their own people." He said that individuals closely connected to the summit have told him there will be a good outcome to the meetings, which President Jose Chissano would like to see "continue until the elections are held as scheduled in October 1994."

#### 'Vox Populi'

In the central market of Maputo, the opinions are less forthcoming. Many people are afraid to speak with reporters, whom some individuals mistake for agents of the State Intelligence and Security Services (SISE) that emerged after the extinction of the Mozambican political police. One vendor ran away and another hid herself behind her stall to avoid answering the journalist's questions.

"Hey, I am afraid. That is, I am in no position to talk about these things. I am the head of a family and I come from a long way off," were the only words spoken by Cristovao Antonio, aged 25, according to his police ID, and a native of Nampula, when he was asked for his opinion about the Chissano-Dhlakama summit meeting.

Matilde Matusse, 34, a street vendor, "does not like politics," but she is hoping for news of Justino Jose Costa, the father of her five children, who was abducted by the Renamo in 1985 somewhere in Manjacaze, Gaza Province. "I just want to live in peace and I would like to know where my husband is, because they told me that he is still alive, in one of their camps in Manjacaze."

Adao Tomo, 34, a black market "cambista" [money changer] in Maputo, is the only one who revealed his party affiliation. "I am a Frelimo sympathizer because the Frelimo brought us independence." Tomo would like Chissano and Dhlakama to come to an understanding so

as to end the war once and for all. Although he concedes that the "problems" are good for his "business," Tomo said that "the war is also not a good thing for us because we, the masses, are always its victims."

Crescencia Jose Machatine, an accounting student at the Commercial School of Maputo, believes that if the leaders are talking, "It is a signal that they want to settle things peacefully; they have come to the conclusion that violence is the weapon of the uncivilized."

According to Jose Martins, 50, a Mozambican of Portuguese ancestry and co-owner of the "Ze-Verde" restaurant, the goodwill expressed by Chissano and Dhlakama in their statements to the press "should create the conditions for mutual trust, which was what was lacking most in the two formerly warring parties." A native of Maganja da Costa and a former lieutenant in the Portuguese Army, Jose Martins stressed the importance of understanding and trust between the two men. He said that "the government must understand why the Renamo is demanding neutral governors; if the government turns a deaf ear, the Renamo is going to be mistrustful and anyone who is mistrustful does not remain calm." He added: "Chissano and Dhlakama know that the Mozambicans do not want any more war and they must control their radical factions, which exist both in the Frelimo and the Renamo and are still very powerful."

The issue of the "neutrality" of the governors, the police, and the press is the Renamo's principal point of argument in this summit meeting. All the provincial governors, as well as the provincial commanders of the Renamo, have been urgently called to Maputo to become fully informed regarding the discussions in progress concerning the territorial administration. President Chissano said it was not a matter of appointing new officials now. "We have not yet reached this conclusion. We are not going to take spectacular measures; we are going to create confidence."

Deputy Malangatana, a member of the present National Assembly, feels that the Renamo's demand concerning the provincial governors "makes no sense, because the country is moving toward the elections," and that the Renamo should trust in the present leaders "because all their actions have been open and aboveboard since the General Peace Accord for Mozambique was signed in Rome in October 1992."

Pedro de Sousa, aged 29, manager of a wholesale trade establishment in the lower city, is of the opinion that the government should agree to a change of governors, who are now Frelimo members, "because Dhlakama is not saying that he wants his own militants as governors; he is talking about neutral and capable individuals," de Sousa added.

However, most Mozambicans have more immediate and specific concerns. Jorge Chanuque, 31, a semipublic passenger transport driver who covers the route from Maputo to Namaacha, on the border with Swaziland,

hopes that the summit will have positive results "so that we can travel around more freely."

"Simply because Dhlakama put off coming to Maputo, there are already robbers on the road that I use. They are not Renamo gangs; they must be Frelimo and Renamo deserters or even bandits, because weapons are circulating freely," he said, and took off in a hurry because his small lorry should already have been leaving on another run.

Warehouseman Maganlal Passoton, 50, an Indian with a Portuguese passport, said he did "not know anything about politics." According to Passoton, the peace came too late; just days before the accords were signed in Rome in October 1992, his store in the Bailao District, on the outskirts of Maputo, was attacked by "armed bandits" who left him with 30 million meticals in damages, forcing him to sell his business.

Alexandre Nulhov, a car polisher, and Antonio Moiane, a stevedore at the port of Maputo, are following the summit meeting on the radio, "because we do not know how to read," and they trust in the good sense of the Frelimo and Renamo leaders. "They are also fathers and they know how we suffer when our children and relatives die. We are tired and we want to go back to our machambas' [farms]," one of them said.

Those who are better informed, such as Raimundo Boca, an engineering student at the Eduardo Mondlane University, are troubled by the example of Angola. According to Boca, the problem of Mozambique will not be settled until South Africa is at peace. "They are the masters that we drew in the lottery and you cannot sidestep the boss. You need only look at Angola."

According to Boca, "what will happen in Mozambique will depend on the outcome of the elections scheduled for 27 April 1994 in South Africa, and if Dhlakama does not know this, then he is not a good politician."

#### \* Gaza: Plight of Demobilized Soldiers Viewed

93AF0799D Maputo DOMINGO in  
Portuguese 25 Jul 93 pp 6, 11

[Article by Salomao Antonio]

[Text] The demobilization of the 1,500 men from the Mozambique Armed Forces (FAM) in Gaza Province ended on 21 June. The action took place at three sites: Chibuto, seat of the Provincial Military Command; Mapai, where the 2d Brigade is headquartered; and in the district of Macia. It is important to note that although no major problems arose, this does not mean that there were no minor obstacles of an administrative nature. But these were resolved promptly by the military commandant of the province, who attended the ceremonies along with the provincial director of finance.

The fact is that among the demobilized military personnel—we should emphasize that many were demobilized

before the Rome talks, last October—there are soldiers, officers (senior and junior), and noncommissioned officers who had thrashed it out in the jungle for many years.

As the men were told in the field, the Mozambican Government, backed by other countries, is responsible for this demobilization but it is being executed by the International Migration Organization (IMO) and monitored by UN observers so that information can be gathered on experiences and transportation problems solved so the men can proceed to their chosen locations. This way, when the demobilization begins—it will be preceded by billeting of troops—the mechanics of the operation will have been mastered.

As custom dictates, before being called on by name, the former military personnel stand in formation and the military commandant of the province makes a stirring speech, wishes them good luck, and only then authorizes the start of the operation. However at Macia, the former military personnel paid no attention to the convocation and in ringing and thundering voices told their former boss: "Lieutenant Colonel, sir, we have not received our 1987 pay and we cannot leave without it."

"What?" asked Lieutenant Colonel Tavares. The response was prompt and to the point. "We want our December 1987 pay, nothing more."

"That is all? I can arrange that right away."

Having heard this, the demobilized were willing to go through what they were being ordered to do, and went from table to table signing different papers.

While this ritual was getting under way, the military chief of the province called the paymaster over and asked him why the paychecks for December 1987 had not been processed and why he had never been told about it.

The commandant was really annoyed about the situation, but could not raise his voice. There were men there from the UN and the IMO, and the government was represented by the men from finance who serve on the Demobilization and Reintegration Commission.

"Where am I going to get money now, out here where I do not know anyone who can lend it to me?" he murmured to himself, but his voice and his state of mind betrayed him. Anyone who was nearby could hear him, ourselves included.

"Take a survey of these men and tell me how much money we need. Right now!" the commandant ordered the paymaster.

"But Lieutenant Colonel, sir, no one in the entire battalion received the December 1987 pay, and that is why I am going to...."

"You are not going to do anything at all, I want a report on these 91 demobilized men who are going to their

locations of choice today. The rest we can take care of later. Do it, and quickly." It was an order. There was no way to argue. The man left to try to calculate the total.

It was then that the commandant said that the same thing was going to happen in Chibuto, but he had arranged for the back pay before "prime time"—prime time being departure time.

The man from the commission is there. Negotiations began immediately. None of them has acquaintances in Macia whom they could ask for the needed money. The money had been brought from Xai-Xai to pay the subsidies for the first three months; each man will receive the rest in the zone where he settles, picking up the money every month.

The paymaster came and said: "nine hundred and some-odd contos." Nearly a million meticals. But this figure does not include the rest of the members of the battalion who are awaiting billeting or selection for the single army and, obviously, does not cover the demobilization of those who have given so much in the service of the government but cannot continue to do so under the same circumstances and so must find other ways of participating in the Mozambican social fabric.

"After all this, that is all we needed?" the commandant asked. But this question was really nothing more than "nocturnal ice" that melts as soon as the sun peaks over the horizon. He does not know where to find the money. He turns to the financial man, who does not know, either. However, they suggest that maybe the finance official present there knows someone in Macia who could get them out of this fix, since he is a native of the area. The latter acknowledges that he might be able to raise that sum, but wants to know who would reimburse him. There followed a minor exchange of words and misunderstandings that very nearly ruined the atmosphere. One of the parties involved in this discussion raised two fingers in the "peace" sign. "I misunderstood." They reached an understanding. It turned out that the Demobilization and Reintegration Commission will pay the nearly 1 million meticals. The provincial director of finance assumed the responsibility. He took the office car and left the barracks, which was full of people. Some time later he came back with the requested money. In the meantime, the commandant's face showed he was very worried. If the money were not found, everything would be ruined. But when the official got out of the white vehicle with a smile on his face—something rarely seen, we are told—happiness and serenity gradually returned to the military man's face.

"I got the money," the official said.

"Boy, what a relief!" the commandant said, breathing deeply. Only the circumstances kept him from shouting with joy. The bogeyman had vanished. And a good thing, too. If the men were not paid, things could have taken a very different turn. The commandant was not seeing elephants where there were only ants. It was a very angry elephant. Really enraged.

### Sad Lot of a Demobilized Soldier

The demobilized men, standing in Indian file, remind one of the times when there were shortages in this country. At the table where the men from UNUMOZ [UN Operations in Mozambique] sat, after the same old signing ritual, each man was being given four tee-shirts and a pair of shoes, all the same color, style—everything. You might even have thought they were some new kind of boot for fighting on carpeted terrain. They were given a pair of slacks, underwear, two pairs of socks, nothing more. They will be able to change tee-shirts, socks, and bikini underwear, nothing else. Then they go to the Demobilization and Reintegration Commission table. After signing their names there, they are given three-months wages—rather, their subsidies.

On one of the occasions when we got a peek at the envelopes, we glimpsed 87,000 meticals and change. That was the pay for three months; the money for the other months will be received at their destinations. Of course it is different for the captains and majors, but still it is not a big deal. Afterward they go home. Even so, they will go emptyhanded. They are going to begin a new life. They have wives. They have children. They do not know how they will feed them after they have left the barracks.

Some of the demobilized we talked to did not conceal their indignation. They said: "We spent so many years at war, defending this government, defending these cities, which, if they are still here, it is because we slugged it out in the jungles to keep them from being destroyed, and now we are in this situation—87,000 meticals. Three months' pay. It is shocking, but what can we do about it, after all?"

But there was also happiness, because in the midst of all these complaints we also heard: "Our greatest happiness was to get out of the war in one piece. Without having been maimed by some land mine. To have gotten out of the military life alive and under conditions where there is no more war, and God willing, there will be no more. We will try our best to survive. Getting out of the army alive is the best thing that can happen to a soldier."

Meanwhile, some of those who are natives of the central and northern provinces decided to stay in Gaza. "We have lived here for many years, we established families here. We do not know whether our homes are still standing or were destroyed, and with the money our government gave us we will not be able to do anything. We would rather stay on here. We will stay here in Gaza Province."

Franco Tchindakulema, a man of venerable age and who until the final days of the war in this country was wandering through the jungle fighting. He had achieved the rank of major after entering military service in 1964. He fought during the Battle for National Liberation, and continued in the war that followed. He was demobilized on 21 June. He refuses to go back to his hometown. "I



have been here in Gaza for many years. So where would I go now? I am staying in Xai-Xai."

As to how he felt about demobilization, he said: "I am very pleased. Luckily, I got out in one piece. Not as young as I was when I entered military service, but I still have strength to go on living. I spent more than a quarter of a century fighting. I am really happy to leave, especially under these conditions."

As to the money he received, he preferred not to comment. He threw up his hands and tossed his head, as if to say: "Only the government knows." He smiled and attempted to retreat. He is a man of few words, but plenty of action, say those who came to know him in the various places where he fought.

These are the feelings of the demobilized soldier who does not know what direction his life should take in this new world, in this new country. Yes, this new country. Not just because of the political situation, but especially because he is actually a foreigner, and without means. For a long time, his life was the barracks, the encampments, the maneuvers, the reconnaissance forays, the operations, the communal kitchens, the ambushes.

#### Time to Leave: Heartache

The trucks and minibuses rented by the International Migration Organization are parked right there. All around them stand the families of the demobilized—women, children, bundles, suitcases. Things you would expect to see. After receiving everything, depending on their destination, the demobilized board the vehicles. Those who are going to Inhambane, Sofala, Manica, and Tete leave for their destinations. Those going elsewhere head for Maputo. From there they will continue onward. Almost all of them start putting on their new clothes on the spot. There had been time to shave quickly and to bathe. They had bought toothpaste. And, as was bound to happen, they bought a bottle of that traditional beverage and said goodbye to their former colleagues.

They had already started boarding the vehicles for the various destinations. One woman, a native of Macia, did something no one had expected: when her husband was already inside the bus, she picked up the baby, a little baby, handed him to her husband and said: "Take your son, because I am not going anywhere, not where I do not even have any family. Where you are not even sure of finding your family, either."

She turned her back. She walked toward her house. The man was speechless, baby in his hands. He did not even try to make a gesture. The engine of the bus began to cough. And away he went, the fruit of a love shared by two now his alone.

So that is the way it was, a mixture of happiness and sadness: happiness because their stint in the military was over; sadness because they are leaving for their various destinations without any certainty of support.

#### \* Mpandula: Life in Renamo Camp Observed

93AF0809B Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
8 Aug 93 pp 17-22

[Article by Antonio Elias]

[Text] Mpandula is a zone in the interior of Angonia District, in Tete Province. A place in the middle of the forest where a Renamo [Mozambican National Resistance] camp functions as a post for receiving support for the guerrillas awaiting new orders.

Departing from Ulongwe, the capital of Angonia District, in Tete Province, on 5 July, we visited a Renamo post in Mpandula, in the district of the same name, some 80 km from the capital. There were 23 guerrillas or former guerrillas, including their commander, Castigo Antonio. Their location is a small and recent camp, circular. It had four small thatched huts to one side, a small shed on the other, and a tree in the center.

They transported us in a truck belonging to World Vision, an American NGO [nongovernmental organization], which was taking blankets and soap to distribute to the Renamo guerrillas. The road would take us by the Domue administrative post and it was shortly after passing that community, precisely 10 minutes later and on a rough road, that the driver told us we were "in Renamo territory." We continued, however, to see new houses and families recently arrived from Malawi, where we had previously seen more people than houses.

The biggest difference was in the state of the road. From the district capital to the Domue administrative post, the road was reasonable, if not good, because of its beaten earth. Machinery had been used in reopening and repairing it. From Domue on, however, the work of reopening it had been done manually.

#### Dhlakama's Medals

We arrived unexpectedly at a place with a large house, completely destroyed. The place was called Chipindo. The house was a store. There were even two benches, and on the house's destroyed patio, corn on the floor, which a youth from Domue had acquired in exchange for salt: one cup of salt for five of corn. Another thing sold there were medals bearing the likeness of Renamo President Afonso Dhlakama, for a price of 22 kwachas or 17,000 meticaís each. We had seen those medals in a store in Ulongwe, but for 24,000 meticaís. Also on the patio of the destroyed store, a youth was selling dried pork; Libaua Muaco, 24 years old, originally from Angoche, Nampula Province. He is a Renamo soldier. He only accepted kwachas for his meat, because "I can't do anything with meticaís, we are not yet authorized to go into Mozambican towns. We use kwachas, which is the Malawian currency, where we make our purchases."

Libaua Muaco showed himself to be very cautious and responded with difficulty to our questions. At first he stuck with "awaiting new instructions from Renamo," and that whatever his fate he would carry it out. Except



that, "I am tired of this life, I would like to return home. My family hasn't heard from me since 1988."

He left home in January 1988, joining the government troops. In December 1991 he joined the guerrillas when he was captured by Renamo soldiers in Milange, in Zambezia Province.

Shortly after Chipindo, we found a school. We did not stop; but there were dozens of children coming out of the two sheds. They were reasonably well dressed, though all of them were barefoot. It is curious that at this date—it was 5 July—there were no classes in the country's schools. It was vacation time. And it seemed that this school had been recently built.

Shortly thereafter we arrived at Mpandula. Commander Castigo Antonio was waiting alone on the road, at a small bench and table made of poles. We entered the camp and stayed for approximately an hour.

Among the soldiers who were there and who then gathered in the shade of the tree in the middle of the camp, there was one amputee, missing a leg. And he was one of the few who expressed any sort of welcome. Many others displayed extraordinary reserve.

#### **'I Come To Sell Meat'**

The commander himself, Castigo Antonio, seemed to have been caught by surprise. His first reaction to our questions was that "it would be appropriate to try to find out what they want in Matenge," Renamo's central base in Tete Province. "I am a subordinate, the zone official." In the same tone, he added, "We are here to do our duty. Whatever orders are given us, we will carry them out."

The guerrillas we found there made up part of a contingent of 66 soldiers. Castigo Antonio explained that "not all of us could come. Most remained at the base."

The commander said he had voluntarily joined Renamo in 1981, in Sofala, and that he was now 24 years old. Thus, he would have been 12 when he joined the Resistance movement.

The dialog we attempted to have with the soldiers became difficult. After the commander, the first one we tried to approach seemed not to understand anything we said. The second limited himself to staring at us, with admirable indifference.

The third said his name was Luis Gimo, age 32. He had dried monkey and gazelle meat, which he had brought from Matenge, his base: "I come to sell this meat to my colleagues and to the population." From Mpandula, according to Luis Gimo, Matenge is three days' walk, the time that he took to arrive. And regarding his future, after his phase of awaiting new orders, he says he is dependent on the State: "But I don't want the military life any longer." Luis Gimo is also a Sofala native, and like the commander, avoided disclosing his town or even his district. He joined Renamo in 1981, and operated in many places in Manica and Sofala Provinces. In 1984 he

"was transferred to Matenge, until now." When he left home, in 1981, he left a wife and child.

Joao Francisco, 26, and a native of Angonia, also prefers civilian life. If he is not "able to arrange work, I will work in the fields." He finished the sixth level in 1984 in the Central School of Lifidji, Angonia, and did not continue "because of the lack of means." He says he knows nothing of the contents of the Rome agreement; however, this is like the rest of the world, not just him.

Meanwhile, Castigo Antonio gave an order, and they organized in formation at the side of the truck, displaying a high level of discipline. The commander stayed with the "World Vision" men. They gave the blankets and soap to Castigo Antonio who in turn handed one to each of the soldiers, who then moved off in Indian file: each soldier had received a blanket and 750 grams of soap.

It was in the process of distributing these articles that we noted the absence of the wounded soldier. There in formation one could better note the appearance of each one. There were none who were minors, and many older than 30.

Among the 22 there, including the commander, only three had military footwear. Another seven had various kinds of shoes, and the rest were barefoot. Three had military helmets. Only two shirts with military colors.

On that issue, Castigo Antonio said that was one of "our difficulties. From the beginning we have never had uniforms. We need a great deal of clothing, of any kind." This situation is widespread among Renamo soldiers, according to Commander Castigo Antonio: "We carry out a war of resistance without uniforms or the conditions of a regular army, as did our brothers."

#### **No One Remains in Domue**

Behind the Renamo military camp there were three houses, very close, belonging to related families. All were refugees in Malawi for many years. They returned last November.

Faquilane Benane, head of one of the families, says that what he most needs now are tools and seeds because "now is the time to prepare the fields. We have not had any problems with Renamo."

We completed our work, according to the schedule of the "World Vision" men. We left Mpandula and stopped at the Domue Administrative Post, which before had been a town with all the basic infrastructure. However, everything has been destroyed. Mpandula, according to Antonio Domingos Coelho, a resident there, was "completely deserted during the war. Nobody was left here. Even the government army soldiers remained far away."

Many of the residents of Domue who had taken refuge in Malawi have now returned home. They are now trying to recover what is left and rebuild what has completely disappeared.

And like all the others, Fabiao Borges, a storekeeper who was also a refugee in Malawi, is trying to restart his work, even though the store is completely destroyed. He has placed stakes on top of the walls and is considering rebuilding the house, even though it is the former property of the APIE [Administration of State-Owned Buildings]. He restarted his business last 10 May, the month he returned from Malawi. He fled there in 1985, because "it was already very bad here." The first attack on the Domue post took place on 7 June 1984, according to their recollection. They suffered the second attack the same month. After that, it was destruction...

**\* Tete: Refugee Repatriation Problems Viewed**

93AF0819A Maputo TEMPO in Portuguese  
29 Aug 93 pp 18-25

[Article by Armando Henrique: "Refugee: This (Other) Disinherited"]

[Text] On all sides, there is growing pressure from the refugees to return home, while, inside the country, the reflowering of life still depends on the removal of the landmines spread out over Tete Province.

As soon as you reach a once isolated region in Tete Province, you perceive that the war destroyed much more than is visible to the eye. Hence to describe the problem of the displaced people and refugees in terms of numbers is to reduce the whole human tragedy of this place to a merely arithmetical concern.

This is the impression left by Mutarara district, the seat of which is Nhamayabue, located about 250 km south-east of Tete City.

From Vila Nova da Fronteira, on the border with Malawi, to the district seat (a distance of about 45 km), all one sees are the marks of methodical, absolute destruction. The fragments of what were once the walls of houses seem more like vestiges of an era centuries old than signs of recent human habitation. The march of time has stopped here.

From the border to the outskirts of the town of Nhamayabue, the only observable sign of life—at least at the end of July—was the intermittent movement of people, predominately women, who descend into Mozambique in the morning and, carrying bundles of brushwood on their heads, return in the afternoon to the various refugee centers in Malawi's N'Sange Province.

By the third week in July, repairs had been completed on 25 km of the N'Sange-Mutarara road, starting at the border. The remaining 20 km were in terrible condition.

Even cars with four-wheel drive were having difficulty negotiating the road. When it rains, the road becomes almost impassible, even on the stretch that has already been repaired, because of the mud and the very deep ruts. And in some areas the bridges have collapsed.

Mutarara's district seat is about 250 km from Tete City. However, up to the beginning of August, the trip from the capital to Nhamayabue was slightly more than 520 km by land, necessarily via Malawi. Inside Mozambique, the road that links the two cities is possible only between Cambulatsisi and Doa. From there to Nhamayabue—about 100 km—the rehabilitation of the road has been suspended, apparently because of the landmines.

Sources connected with nongovernmental organizations [NGOs] in Tete said, however, that the entire highland zone of Doa, close to Malawi, was controlled by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and that, aside from the problem of the mines, the Renamo was impeding the progress of repairs on the road south [of Doa], allegedly because the company that was performing the work had been contracted by the government. Oddly enough, as TEMPO learned from a UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees] source in Tete, the Renamo had assisted in reopening the road as far as Doa.

Because of the mines placed along the Tete-Mutarara road south of Doa, all the humanitarian aid for the inhabitants of Mutarara district must be shipped by way of Malawi. This is twice the distance between Tete City and Mutarara. Moreover, it entails added transport costs and unnecessary delay in the delivery of the humanitarian aid to its intended recipients.

In addition, the inhabitants are hampered because their movements are confined to very small areas. As a result, they cannot engage in any productive activities that could reduce their dependence on outside assistance.

**Ounce of Prevention...**

Apparently, it is not very clear how many Mozambican refugees are in Malawi. The figure probably reaches or even exceeds 1 million.

Just in the Nyamithuthu camp, which covers about 30 square km on the western side of the road from Blantyre to Mutarara, it is estimated that there are close to 500,000 Mozambican refugees. This center, which has been in existence for more than six years, consists of row upon row of thatched huts, 2X4 meters in area.

On 22 July, in Nyamithuthu, the TEMPO reporter met with Pedro Goncalves, representative of the International Migration Organization (OIM) in Tete, who was gathering data concerning the Mozambican refugees in that camp. The purpose, he said, was to prepare for the involvement of the OIM in the repatriation of Mozambicans sheltered not only in Nyamithuthu but also in other parts of Malawi.

Almost all the refugees expect to return. However, Adelino Albino, 28, said he was waiting for the official repatriation to be initiated, (preferably) with guaranteed transport.

Adelino Albino fled from Mutarara to Malawi in 1990 with his wife and two children and has been living in Nyamithuthu since then. Thousands of other Mozambicans are spread out over camps at Nwanza, on the border with Zobe, Nkapha, Karabwague, Mankokwe, and Tengani, in southern Malawi.

Pending the official repatriation, many refugees in Malawi have returned to Mozambique on foot. Not all of them are staying for good, however. They are coming here and then returning to Malawi until certain conditions have been created in their own country, such as the removal of the landmines or the existence of the minimum essential public services—a water supply, for example. This is the case with Alumanico Lourindo, 29, who, since 1988, has been living in the Tengani Refugee Camp, 100 km from Mutarara.

When TEMPO encountered him at 1600 on 22 July, Laurindo and seven other people were already on Mozambican territory. They had traveled 70 km and were still 30 km from Mutarara. They had left Tengani at 0400, carrying loads of cornmeal on their heads.

Laurindo had left his wife and three children in Tengani. He was going to Mutarara to test the waters before the final return. He had sound reasons for this; he did not know the actual situation in his country. "The war may not have ended yet, and I have been told that things are still very confused. I do not have a good feeling about all this," he explained.

People from the Muanza refugee camp have arrived in Mutarara by way of Chicwawa, traveling more than 200 km on foot. This marathon takes three to five days, depending on the age and stamina of the hiker.

Sources connected with World Vision and the UNHCR in Mutarara say that, in the months of May, June, and the first part of July, they registered an average of 100 Mozambicans arriving from Malawi. In addition to Mutarara, the returnees were headed for Caia and Chemba districts, in northwestern Sofala Province. To reach the latter two districts, they must scramble over the ruins of the Dona Ana bridge to get across the Zambeze River, with all the dangers that this entails.

At the Chare Administrative Post, according to post director Herminio Semo, a total of 618 citizens returned to the country between April and July, by their own means, i.e., traveling on foot.

Most of the returns are not recorded, however. Because the refugees are returning on their own, crossing all along the border between Mozambique and Malawi, there is, for the present, no effective means of monitoring them, particularly because on this side of the border—at Vila Nova da Fronteira, for example—the posts of the Migration services have not been replaced since they were destroyed in the war.

"It is difficult to quantify the returnees," said Ernesto Chuva, of World Vision. "Certainly the movement is

increasingly massive. But the control is still precarious. Because they cannot prove they are refugees, many of the returnees are not registered as such, and they end up being integrated in the barrios of the city, along with the displaced people inside Mozambique."

At one point the Malawian Government altered the refugee identification card. This has meant that the figures in the possession of the NGOs are useless.

According to Gregorio Nobre, of the UNHCR, the refugees in the Mankokwe, Tengani, Muanza, and Nyamithuthu camps have already been issued new identification cards, but their official repatriation depends on the decision of the Mozambican authorities. "I think the biggest obstacle is the fact that the government and Renamo troops have not yet been rounded up in camps," he added.

#### Mines, Crocodiles, Doubts...

From Nhamayabue to the north of the district seat, the radius of free and safe circulation ends at the local airfield, 12 km from Nhamayabue. Beyond the airfield there are landmines. The zone of Missuassua, considered fertile farmland, is also mined. No one sets foot in it.

All of Nhamayabue's infrastructures were methodically destroyed. There is not so much as a shop, much less any water. People get their drinking water straight from the Zambeze River, which is full of crocodiles. According to Vicente Bellefroid, of Doctors Without Borders, in May and June of this year an average of one person a week fell victim to the crocodiles.

It is very difficult to solve the problem of the refugees here and the ones who must pass through this district to reach their native areas. Because of the landmines, many of the roads cannot be reopened. Moreover, the territorial disputes between the government and the Renamo over Mutarara district (in Tete Province) and Milange and Murumbala districts (in Zambezia Province) have created problems. Things have reached the point that Ippolito Salvatore, chief of the UNHCR delegation for the northern zone of Mozambique, describes the situation as follows:

"If we manage to rehabilitate a health post in a Renamo-controlled zone, then we are faced with the problem of staffing it: where do we find a medical aide? It must be someone who is qualified, and only the government can guarantee this. However, the Renamo may reject him. In effect, there are obstacles that are beyond the competence of the UNHCR and the NGOs. It all has to do with the whole process of the general peace accord."

At this time, preparations are under way for the repatriation of the so-called vulnerable groups, which consist of abandoned children and the elderly. At the same time, an attempt is being made to carry out a program to rebuild the border posts, to put educational and health systems back in place, and to establish a supply of drinking water, as well as to reopen the roads.



In July, World Vision and the PESU [expansion not given] expected to carry out a program to distribute 20 kg of seed corn and 5 kg of beans per family, so the latter might grow some crops that would make it possible to reduce the quantity of food aid distributed next year.

"We are going to set up a boat service along the Chire River and we plan to warehouse as much food as possible in Mutarara before the next rainy season, because the N'Sange-Nhamayabue road will be impossible then," Ippolito Salvatore said.

### **Tete: A Sensitive Case**

Of all the provinces, Tete presents the greatest complexity with regard to the refugee phenomenon. In effect, after the armed violence ended in Mozambique, all along Tete's foreign borders there has been a growing press of people returning home, either spontaneously or in an organized way. In the southwest, they are entering from Zimbabwe; in the northwest, from Zambia; and in the north and east, from Malawi.

Beyond the purely numerical aspect of the problem, there are cases in which almost an entire ethnic group was exiled on the other side of the border. An example of this is Angonia, whose inhabitants, predominately Nyanjas, have almost all taken refuge in Malawi.

Vast areas that were once inhabited and had a flourishing rural life are completely deserted as a result of a war of attrition that went on for many years. This makes repatriation a very different process in Mozambique. It is not a matter of returning people to their former homes and attempting to reintegrate them in the socioeconomic dynamic from which they have been separated; it is, above all, an (almost) total reconstruction of man and place.

Along National Highway No. 221, which links Tete City to the town of Fungoe, the district seat of Maravia, there are areas where one can travel more than 40 km without seeing a single settlement, or even signs that there has ever been any human influence at any time; the strips of burned-off land on both sides of the road provide a vague prospect of imminent "rehumanization."

Between Mantema and the bypass to the Luia River, a distance of 70 km, National Highway No. 221 is paved with asphalt. However, the pavement is irregular because of the holes and ridges caused by the heat of the cars that were set on fire on the tarred surface.

On 30 July, the machines that were repairing the stretch between the Luia River and the town of Fungoe—110 km—had already progressed somewhat beyond the zone of Cantina de Oliveira, 40 km from the Maravia district seat. This part of National Highway No. 221 is not paved and is very irregular. At various points where it crosses streams or valleys, the bridges no longer exist. In the rainy season it is quite likely that Maravia will not be accessible, at least not by road.

Cantina de Oliveira is under the control of the Renamo, which has its military barracks right at the edge of National Highway No. 221, on the western side. On the side opposite the barracks, on a landing strip, the World Lutheran Federation has set up a camp from which it distributes food to the population under Renamo control, consisting primarily of women and children.

At night they sleep in the open and, as TEMPO witnessed on the night of 30-31 July, few of them have as much as a blanket; only the fires that are kept burning until daybreak make the cold barely tolerable.

The first of the Lutheran Federation camps was set up in the Capoché region, in Chifunde district, and the second was in the zone of Bacalhau. The Cantina de Oliveira camp was the third. The establishment of the camps for the distribution of food aid has accompanied the progress of the rehabilitation of National Highway No. 221.

### **[Box, pp 22-24]**

In Tete Province, the return of the Mozambicans who took refuge in neighboring countries is still spontaneous.

In the opinion of Ippolito Salvatore, of the UNHCR, this spontaneity is advantageous because the returnees head directly for their native areas and the aid money that would have been spent to transport them can be used for other purposes.

Nonetheless, preparations are under way for a planned and more comprehensive repatriation. This includes, for example, reopening roads and removing the mines planted on them, as well as advising the refugees as to the precautions to take regarding these deadly devices.

On 19 July, in Tete, a four-week training course in mine removal was initiated for 74 demobilized government army soldiers. The training is being financed by the Government of Norway, through the organization "Norwegian People's Aid" (APN). The program is budgeted at \$2 million, including \$500,000 made available by the UNHCR for a public education campaign regarding the mines.

The mine removal course is taught by a team of seven Norwegian military officers, who are specialists in the field and who have already been involved in similar work in Cambodia, Lebanon, and Pakistan. There are also three physicians.

According to Age Skagestad, the APN representative in Tete, as soon as the course is over, the mine removal operation will begin on the Tete-Mutarara road, which covers about 250 km and half of which—between Doa and Mutarara—is mined. This work will help to create the conditions to receive more than 200,000 people who are expected to return soon to Mutarara from Malawi.

"There are villages that are completely surrounded by landmines and there are other mined areas that we do

not know about. We will have to conduct a sweep and then mark the locations identified as being mined," Skagestad said.

Harvard Bach, commander of the team of Norwegian instructors, said he was pleased at how well the demobilized government soldiers responded to instruction. However, he said he hoped to train demobilized Renamo soldiers, as well.

As promised, each of the 74 demobilized men will receive 300 contos, 50 of which will go to pay for their meals during the course. Later on, those who have completed the course will sign new contracts.

"Considering the risks involved in handling mines, the money is not worth it. We only accepted because we have no other means of survival; it has been several years since we were demobilized and we have never found jobs," said Carlos Feriado, aged 25.

Other preparations have been undertaken by the International Migration Organization (OIM) in Tete. According to Pedro Goncalves, whom we interviewed in the third week of July, the OIM had already received authorization to transport displaced people inside the country to their respective former homes.

Regarding the refugees, the OIM was still collecting data with a view to taking part in transporting Mozambican citizens who had taken refuge in Malawi.

In the first half of this year, the OIM was involved in transporting 16,000 demobilized government troops and their dependents to various points in the country. "Currently we are awaiting the completion of the roundup of the government and Renamo troops so the OIM can carry out one of the most important operations in the process of the pacification of Mozambique," Pedro Goncalves said.

### Swaziland

#### Repeal of Detention Order Met With 'Mixed Feelings'

MB2909081893 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 29 Sep 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Kosygin Shabangu]

[Text] The repeal of the 60 Days Detention without Trial Order has been met with mixed feelings by organisations spearheading the fight for full human rights to be respected in the Kingdom.

While the general public is delighted about the repeal of the law, the organisations feel that it was calculated at making people give legitimacy to the ongoing elections, while at the same time fundamental human rights were being suppressed.

Most of the organisations contacted for comment held the view that it would have been better if the whole 1973

King's Proclamation Act was revoked and replaced with the 1968 Independence Constitution which embraced the United Nations Bill of Human Rights and fundamental human liberties.

President of the Swaziland Law Society, Mr Paul Shilubane, said while his organisation welcomed the move, it still had to be gazetted into a statute after which positive fruits can then be seen.

Mr Shilubane pointed out that the Swaziland Law Society also welcomed the repulsion of the order because it went against the legal principles that everyone is innocent until proven guilty. "In this case it was the opposite. A suspect was guilty until proven innocent. It was also against the general accepted human rights standards that no one can be punished without the due process of the law," he said.

He promised that the Society would issue a full statement once the repeal of the law had been gazetted.

On the other hand, the Secretary General of the People's United Movement (Pudemo), Mr Dominic Mngomezulu, says this is not sufficient. "It was calculated at making legitimate the on-going elections."

He said the powers that be noted that the primary elections and the registration of voters process were failures because of the threat of 60 days detention. "It is a good move, but what about the other clauses contained in the 1973 King's Proclamation Act? When will they go? Mr Mngomezulu noted that if the fear was that the order would usher out chaos and ungovernability, it was based on a wrong premise. "If it was based on creating a free political atmosphere where political parties and political meetings would be held, then the country was going to win international respect. Unless the 1973 King's Proclamation Act is removed and replaced with the 1968 Independence Constitution, nothing will go right. The Act contains a lot of suppressive laws yet Swaziland claims to conform with the United Nations Bill of Human Rights Charter. 60 days was not the only repressive law, there is still a long way to go," he said.

"The State of Emergency still poses great fear to freedom loving citizens."

Mr Dan Mango of the Swaziland Commercial and Allied Workers Union said the move was a good step to full democracy in the country.

He said nobody will be intimidated. "There is going to be freedom of speech and expression without fear of the unknown," he said.

#### Refugees Said Flocking Into Country From South Africa

MB2909144893 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 29 Sep 93

[From the "Channel Africa Report" program]

[Text] Swaziland is becoming a refugee haven for southern Africa. Refugees from as far afield as Angola are flocking to the country's refugee camp. In the meantime, the Mbabane representative of the UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees], Gary Perkins, has warned that even more can be expected:

[Begin Perkins recording] What is happening is that they come in occasionally by sea through ports like Durban and then come up into Swaziland. Or else they come in across by road through South Africa, and from South Africa to Swaziland. Now, while South Africa has recently signed an agreement with our office, [word indistinct] on refugees in South Africa, there is no mechanism for them to (?help). So people are coming into South Africa, they're not finding assistance, and they're moving out to Swaziland to [word indistinct]. But we provide them with assistance in the refugee camp, and then since they have never had good education, as you may not know, they are allowed to find work in Swaziland, and we provide them with a monthly supplement to whatever wages they might make while they're here. [end recording]

## Zambia

### President Chiluba Approves Controversial Law on Bail

MB3009154193 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 30 Sep 93

[From the "Channel Africa" program]

[Text] Zambian President Frederick Chiluba has agreed to a controversial legislation which denies bail to treason, murder, and drug trafficking suspects. We have on the line the secretary general of the Zambian Law Association, George Kunda, for his comment:

[Begin recording] [Kunda] The Zambian Constitution provides that any person who is charged with an offense is entitled to apply for bail does not exclude any offenses from its provisions. It's the courts which have the power to limit the conditions upon which a person may be released or denied bail. Now, the Constitution of Zambia is supposed to be supreme above all other laws, and the Constitution provides that any act or law which is contrary to the Constitution or contravenes the Constitution can never be valid—it's null and void.

[Correspondent Hope Zinde] But then the president, Mr. Chiluba, has passed that legislation, which narrowly escaped defeat in Parliament in June, which means that the kind of law which is not in the Zambian Constitution will be enacted. What do you think will be the consequences?

[Kunda] I understand that there is a petition which has been (?filed) by members of Parliament to challenge the same law on the basis that it's unconstitutional. I would

say that, you know, the government on this one acted unconstitutional in enacting this kind of law. [end recording]

### Foreign Minister Interviewed on Zairian Situation

MB3009181293 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 30 Sep 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Although most of the Kasai refugees have fled back to their own province in Zaire, many others cross the southern border into Zambia, inevitably aggravating the already sensitive security situation on the border. And Zambia has been expressing mounting concern over the whole situation in Zaire, where political confusion reigns, where there are two rival prime ministers and no effective central government. Zambia's Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga is passing through London today and Robin White asked him what they made of it all:

[Begin recording] [Mwaanga] Well, we're worried because already we've started receiving refugees from Zaire who are now camped in Zambia. They are coming mainly from Shaba Province and these are mainly Kasais who claim that they are being expelled for ethnic reasons.

[White] I think that they are being expelled—it's not a claim.

[Mwaanga] Well, I have to be cautious in how I describe events in a neighboring country, and we have offered them refuge. But we think that the long-term solution lies in being able to promote dialogue between President Mobutu and leaders of opposition parties.

[White] Are you doing anything to help that?

[Mwaanga] Well, we have taken certain regional initiatives working in close collaboration with Tanzania, Namibia, and Uganda to help dialogue between President Mobutu and leaders of opposition parties. We have been in touch with both parties and they agreed that it is necessary to have this dialogue, and we stand ready to come to the rescue of these talks should they falter.

[White] Isn't the problem basically President Mobutu? Wouldn't it be better if he went?

[Mwaanga] That would be up to the people of Zaire to make that decision...

[White, interrupting] What would you prefer? Would you like him to go?

[Mwaanga] We would like to mediate to the maximum extent possible, but the decision as to whether he should go or not should be left to the Zairian people to decide.

[White] But if he will not go? If he just refuses to go?

[Mwaanga] Then they will have to decide what to do with him.

[White] But if it lands you with a problem, if it lands you with thousands and thousands of refugees, don't you have to be more positive?

[Mwaanga] We have lived with refugees since our independence, from South Africa and all the neighboring countries. A few more additional refugees from Zaire will not break Zambia's back.

[White] You had a couple of ministers kidnapped the other week?

[Mwaanga] That is true, we had two of our ministers kidnapped. It was a very unfortunate incident. We have sent a very strong demarche to Zaire indicating that this kind of behavior on the part of Zairian nationals or authorities is quite unacceptable to Zambia, and we do expect that this demarche that we have made will have a strong impact on the Zairian Government. [end recording]

## Zimbabwe

### Mugabe Says Media 'Misrepresenting' Resettlement Policy

MB3009163093 Harare THE HERALD in English 25 Sep 93 p 1

[Excerpt] The media is misrepresenting the Government's resettlement policy, President Mugabe said on Thursday.

In a speech in Los Angeles inviting African-American businessmen to invest in Zimbabwe to help its investment-led economic reforms, Cde Mugabe said the media had misrepresented the Government's land reform which only sought to redress colonial imbalances in land ownership.

"We do not accept unwarranted criticism which has arisen on this issue because land acquisition by the State is not just peculiar to Zimbabwe" he told the African-American Business Council at a dinner hosted for him.

Of the 11.4 million hectares owned by 4,000 white commercial farmers, he said, the Government wanted five million hectares to resettle thousands of blacks squeezed onto small areas of unproductive land.

On the economy, the President invited African-Americans to invest in Zimbabwe, saying it had the potential for forging foreign partnerships.

Outlining incentives offered to investors, he said: "We want you to be partners with us in our endeavours to expand and modernise productive economic activities in our country."

He said African-Americans could invest in agriculture, mining or manufacturing sectors.

Under the country's economic reforms, investors could benefit from the removal of price controls and export retention schemes.

Cde Mugabe, who is involved in efforts to reconcile warring parties in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, said SADC [Southern African Development Community] would redirect resources from defence and security to developmental programmes once the three troubled countries achieved peace. [passage omitted]

### Senior Minister Opposes Economic Reform Program

MB0110105993 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0911 GMT 1 Oct 93

[Text] Bulawayo Oct 1 SAPA—A senior Zimbabwe cabinet minister on Friday dissociated himself from the government's three-year-old economic reform programme which, he said, would leave Zimbabwe's economy worse off than it was at independence.

Minister of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Cooperatives Didymus Mutasa told the ZIANA news agency he had been against the programme from its inception, but was working within it because as a minister he was bound by the Zimbabwe constitution.

"President (Robert) Mugabe knows I am a socialist because I told him I did not want capitalism. I have also made my feeling known to the ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] (PF [Patriotic Front]) Politburo and the Central Committee," Mr Mutasa said.

He said the government, after successfully launching a socialist thrust that was within reach of its goal of equitably spreading wealth across the nation, had made an ideological about-turn that was fast succeeding in giving back the economy to foreigners.

"Capitalism will not work for us. We have fewer than 10 indigenous millionaires, compared to 10 million poor workers. With such statistics I do not believe that we will progress through a capitalist thrust. We are doomed and it is fast getting too late to correct the situation," said Mr Mutasa.

He added that the rate at which multi-national companies were expanding operations, and the rate at which black Zimbabweans and the government were sinking deeper into debt, showed there was no hope of the nation ever regaining control of the means of production and its economy in general.

### UK Grants \$147 Million in Economic Reform Support

MB3009154793 Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Sep 93 p 1

[Text] Britain yesterday gave Zimbabwe a grant of \$147 million in support of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme [ESAP].



Under an agreement signed by the Minister of State for Finance, Dr. Tichaendepi Masaya, and the British High Commissioner of Zimbabwe, Mr. Richard Dales, in Harare yesterday, the grant would be specifically used for the Export Retention Scheme.

Dr. Masaya said Britain had continued to demonstrate its commitment and concern for the success of ESAP.

He said the first \$100 million pledge by the British Government during the first Paris Donors Meeting in 1991 for the Open General Import Licence support was fully disbursed by the end of last year.

Mr. Dales said it was his country's hope that Zimbabwe achieved among its objectives, the reduction of the budget deficit before the start of Zimbabwe's major investment campaign in Britain next year.

"Our support for ESAP will continue provided the programme is on track. We believe the structural reform will provide for growth and sustainable development," he said, adding that the grant was untied.

Since 1991, Britain has provided a total of \$441 million in balance of payments support. This consisted of \$343 million for ESAP and \$98 million for special drought aid.



## Cote d'Ivoire

**Paper on Foreign Minister's UN General Assembly Speech***AB2909121393 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 29 Sep 93 p 20*

[Article by Honorine Yaoua Kouman]

[Excerpt] "...It is urgent for the international community to further undertake to quickly release the necessary funds for the rapid deployment of new contingents to strengthen the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group in Liberia in order to enhance the effective implementation of the Cotonou Accord..." This, among others, is what His Excellency Amara Essy, our foreign minister, told the 48th session of the UN General Assembly on 27 September at the UN Headquarters in New York. The foreign minister further stated that "it is also just as urgent for the international community to come to the aid, as stipulated under Section 8 of the charter, of the countries and regional organizations participating in the peacekeeping efforts in Liberia."

Touching on the issue of conveying humanitarian aid to Liberia, Mr. Essy stressed that it is necessary to quickly resolve this problem in order to ensure the regular delivery of supplies to some regions of this country where famine still prevails. It is only in this manner that the incursions of armed bands into border villages and hamlets in search of food can be stopped.

Mr. Essy also welcomed the formation of a transition government, represented by a Council of State which is charged with organizing general elections in Liberia. He then expressed satisfaction at firm determination of the Liberian political groups to work towards entirely breaking down the wall of hatred and animosity between Liberian brothers. According to him, this is a way of laying down the foundation for a peaceful and prosperous future for all. He further added that he is optimistic about the rapid restoration of peace in Liberia. As far as he is concerned, the end to this bloody conflict is very imminent.

On Somalia, another African country where the current situation is very worrying, Mr. Essy stated: "We hope that the unrelenting and laudable efforts deployed by the international community to restore peace in this country will shortly be successful and lead to the reconciliation of all its sons and daughters."

Concerning Angola, the foreign minister said that the progress made at beginning of the implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords in 1991 must be maintained, and efforts must be deployed and encouraged both within the Security Council and among African governments.

On South Africa, Mr. Essy said: "We welcome with satisfaction the joint statement made by South African political parties to organize free and democratic elections in April 1994. We also welcome the establishment of a

Transitional Executive Council, which will incorporate for the first time, in three centuries of white domination and after the first multiracial elections, the black majority in the running of affairs."

The Middle East and the situation in the Gulf region also retained the foreign minister's attention. He fully welcomed the historical accord between Israel and the PLO and called for the comprehensive implementation of all the resolutions on the Gulf conflict. [passage omitted]

## Guinea

**Conakry Civil Leaders Meet To Restore Stability***AB3009150593 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] There is a growing feeling of insecurity among residents of Conakry in the face of the scenes of violence and vandalism raging across the capital. Faced with this situation, an extraordinary general assembly brought together representatives of 87 professional associations and unions affiliated to (?ASYNAG) [expansion unknown]. Each leader was requested to educate his members in order to maintain social stability in the capital. Interviewed by Igama Kalif Sylla, Ali Camara stresses here the role of the civil society in an atmosphere of disorder and insecurity:

[Begin Camara recording] We convened the leaders of the civil society to an emergency meeting to express our anxiety over what we are now witnessing in Conakry. We cannot afford to look on unconcerned. We can remain silent only when everything is going on smoothly. But when one leaves one's workplace for home only to get held up somewhere until 1 A.M. for no reason, we have to show that we concede that political parties should exist, that the government should exist. But where there is anarchy, society cannot sit back and say: This is none of our business. We are all witnesses to the Togolese example. It was a case of the army versus the opposition. But when things boiled over it was the people who rose up. We are here representing the Guinean people. We are the ones who are worried. You can explain your program on the television. You can present your (?blueprint). But we are the ones who listen to and watch you. It is up to us to analyze. [end recording]

**President Bans Street Protests; Death Toll Hits 18***AB3009200793 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Conakry, Sep 30 (AFP)—Guinea's President Lansana Conte banned street protests Thursday [30 September] ahead of December presidential elections and blamed the local authorities for two days of anti-government protests which left 18 people dead.

The president said 198 people had been hurt since Tuesday in clashes between opposition groups and

police, a sharp rise on earlier hospital casualty figures which had put the death toll at 12 with 70 injured.

The trouble began on Tuesday when police opened fire on opposition demonstrators calling for the formation of a transitional government of national unity, a demand rejected by General Conte.

In a speech to elected local councillors and the Conakry governor the president said he was "ready to make every sacrifice" to ensure the presidential elections went ahead as planned on December 5.

The president branded as "irresponsible" the Conakry local authorities, telling them "not to forget that you are responsible for all citizens, whatever their political affiliations."

Conte announced a ban on the use of police weapons but urged people not to attack the security forces. He accused "layabouts and thugs" of being responsible for widespread looting in the capital Wednesday.

Police Thursday admitted that two protestors shot dead Tuesday had been killed by police officers who had subsequently been arrested. The officers insist they acted in legitimate self-defence.

The president's Unity and Progress Party (PUP) is preparing for the first multiparty polls after political pluralism was introduced in April 1992, against a fragmented opposition of no fewer than 43 legalised parties.

The opposition has accused Conte and his regime of rejecting any dialogue but the government charges the opposition with setting out to divide the country.

Conte has also rejected demands that general elections, slated for 60 days after the presidential vote, be held simultaneously with it.

Three men have so far announced they will stand in the presidential poll: Conte himself, Jean-Marie Dore, the general secretary of the Union for the Progress of Guinea, and Facine Toure, a retired colonel and former companion of the head of state.

#### **Boke Reported Calm After Riot; Governor Comments**

*AB3009154393 Conakry Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique de Guinee in French 0645 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] The situation in Boke subprefecture has returned to normal after a rally held yesterday by the Guinee Maritime provincial governor. Yesterday, the town was in turmoil as a group of individuals took to the streets to protest the economic backwardness of the town and to make demands. The demonstrators attacked official cars at the offices of the prefect and the mayor of the commune. The uncompleted Office of the Prefect was razed, while doors and windows of the Mayor's Office were wrenched loose and carried away by the demonstrators. On his arrival at the scene, the provincial governor

was interviewed about the incidents. Mamadoudjan Bangoura answered Moussa Moise Dakibi's questions:

[Begin recording] [Bangoura] The reason for our presence in Boke is that we were informed, as is usually the case, by the security agencies and by Interior and Security Minister Rene Alseny Gomez, that the situation prevailing in Boke was uncomfortable—in other words, that nothing was going right in Boke. This is what brought us down here yesterday evening. We left Koulikoro for Boke at about 1930. This explains our presence at Boke this morning. We really discovered a town in turmoil as a result of the activities of a group of individuals....

[Dakibi, interrupting] Now that you have assessed the situation on the ground, what are your impressions, Mr. Governor?

[Bangoura] Well, at first we thought it was an apolitical situation, which had nothing to do with the current political situation, but gradually we are beginning to realize that there are dangerous political undertones to the current developments, which is not the least surprising even if the people masterminding these disturbances have not quite been identified yet. We do not know yet which political party or parties they belong to. What we can say about them for the time being is that they are a group of individuals who have come together and whose movements we are closely monitoring to find out to which group or camp they belong.

[Dakibi] Assuming they eventually turn out to belong to one camp or another, will they be arrested, Mr. Governor?

[Bangoura] Yes, of course. At each of our meetings with the Guinee Maritime regional minister and prefect, we firmly resolved long ago that inasmuch as we advocate peace and tranquility in Guinee Maritime we do not want disturbances either, especially by such individuals. Let it be stated that we will assume our responsibilities fully—as we are doing at the moment, anyway—to lay hands on all the ringleaders who, once charged, will be prosecuted.

[Dakibi] Faced with the upsurge of acts of vandalism, what are the security measures you plan to put in place at Boke?

[Bangoura] The security measures we intend to put in place at Boke include urging residents of Boke to organize themselves in order to guarantee their own security. It is in the interest of each person to ensure that this security is maintained. Second, we will mobilize our resources—that is our security agencies, who are performing creditably—to strengthen the action which the people are called upon to undertake in the area of security.

[Dakibi] What appeal will you send out to the residents of Boke and their elders?

[Bangoura] Our appeal to the residents of Boke is that we believe that acts of this nature cannot be carried out without the knowledge of some officials or elderly wise men of Boke. We are definitely sure about that, and this is why we appeal to these same elders to help us to better guide the youth, offer them better advice, and bring them back to their senses more effectively because as has been written or said, there is no youngster who does not belong to a family, or who is not linked in one way or the other to an elder somewhere. We think that the elders of Boke—who have always been considered as wise men—must assume their responsibility once more so that such incidents do not recur here.

[Dakibi] Mr. Governor, can you tell us how many people have been arrested so far?

[Bangoura] I can say more than 30 people have so far been arrested. We have laid hands on the ringleaders in particular. These have their accomplices who, since the day before yesterday, have not heeded the appeal made to them and all the efforts that the prefectural and communal authorities have made to bring them back to their senses. We believe that this morning, after assuming our responsibility the way we did, we have been able to lay hands on a good number of ringleaders. [end recording]

## Liberia

### Nigerian General Takes Over Command of ECOMOG

AB2909225093 Paris AFP in English 2226 GMT  
29 Sep 93

[Text] Monrovia, Sep 29 (AFP)—Nigerian General John Shagaya took over the West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, here Wednesday [28 September] and appealed to Liberia's factions to cooperate with him in implementing a "lasting peace."

Shagaya, who has replaced General Adetundji Olurin, said on arrival that he had come to give the 12,000-person ECOMOG "the leadership the force deserves."

The former Nigerian interior minister appealed to Liberia's factions, who fought a bitter civil war from December 1989 until they signed a peace accord in July, "to cooperate with me so that together we can achieve lasting peace."

Interim President Amos Sawyer welcomed Shagaya by saying that Liberians were deeply grateful to ECOMOG, set up in 1990 by the Economic Community of West African States, "for the restoration of their integrity."

Olurin has returned to Nigeria to a post on the Army's general staff.

Nigeria, which contributes three quarters of ECOMOG's personnel, has said it intends to withdraw its contingent before March 31.

## Nigeria

### Further on Reaction by 'Easterners' to Current Dispute

AB3009180093 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT  
30 Sep 93

[By Ade Obisesan]

[Text] Lagos, Sep 30 (AFP)—Governors from southeastern Nigeria, most of whom come from the Ibo people, have implicitly accused the southwestern Yoruba of blackmailing the country over the annulment of the presidential election in June.

They also complained of government marginalisation of their citizens, in the first such protest by official representatives of easterners since the bloody civil war for the foiled secession of Biafra in 1967-70.

The six governors did not name the ethnic group in question in a statement after a meeting Wednesday [29 September] in the federal capital Abuja, but it was a clear reference to the Yoruba people from the southwest.

"We believe it is now time to say that enough is enough, any further blackmail and political brigandry may force us to review our position in the light of the prevailing circumstances as we continue to use our resources to fund the power struggle that does not benefit our people," the governors stated.

All were members of the conservative National Republican Convention (NRC), rival to the left-leaning Social Democratic Party (SDP) whose candidate Moshood Abiola, a Yoruba business tycoon, was said on unofficial results to have won the election before it was annulled by the junta in office at the time.

The only governor from the region who did not sign the communique was an SDP member from Anambra State.

The statement accused the unnamed ethnic group of voting "exclusively" for their "kinsman" in the poll, in a veiled reference to Abiola, who this week launched a campaign challenging the legitimacy of Ernest Shonekan, another businessman made head of an interim government last month by the outgoing military regime.

The governors claimed that despite the fact that the region contributes more than 80 per cent of the nation's resources, government patronage of easterners in terms of political appointments and provision of infrastructure did not match their efforts towards development.

The political crisis and struggle for power was in reality, according to them, a struggle for control over these resources, they said.

They also expressed their determination to resist any attempt to revisit the issue of the annulled election.



Speaking in the same vein Wednesday during a meeting in Abuja with Shonekan, a Yoruba like Abiola, representatives of traditional rulers from the eastern region also complained of marginalisation.

Pleading that their citizens should not be made "scape-goats or sacrificial lambs," they urged the government to recognise sacrifices being made by the easterners to ensure the unity, progress and prosperity of the nation, press reports said Thursday here.

They urged him to ensure that the east was not marginalised as recent changes in service chiefs had suggested, referring to a government decision to rescind the appointment of an easterner as head of the air force in favour of a Yoruba.

Marginalisation of easterners at federal level was the reason advanced by Colonel Emeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu for his secession bid in 1967, which triggered the bloody Biafran war in which an estimated one million people died.

The issue of marginalisation of the easterners formed the main focus of the latest, independence anniversary edition of TSM magazine, published by an Ibo.

In an article titled "East: Where the Sun Doesn't Shine," the Lagos-based weekly cited many instances since independence on October 1, 1960, in which easterners were allegedly disadvantaged in comparison with the other two major ethnic groups, the Yorubas and the Hausas of the north.

Since independence, only one easterner, General Thomas Aguiyi Ironi, has ever been at the head of the federal government. He ruled from January to June 1966, before he was assassinated in a coup.

#### **Eastern States' Traditional Rulers Meet Shonekan**

*AB3009102593 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Text] Today, traditional rulers in the seven eastern states led by the obi [chief] of Onitsha, Chief Okpala Okambie, called on Chief Shonekan. Speaking through a spokesperson, the traditional rulers expressed confidence in the present Federal Executive Council and asked government to rehabilitate the [words indistinct]. The head of state stressed the need for everyone to work as a team, noting that the country is going through a difficult time.

Chief Shonekan, who observed that Nigerians are known for hard work, wondered why people should listen to stay-at-home calls. He said the country will have to pay some day for the [words indistinct]. Chief Shonekan, who urged Nigerians to remember things that bind us together, described as false talks that the interim national government was being reshuffled. [end recording]

#### **Police Arrest 58 Prodemocracy Activists 29 Sep**

*AB3009095693 Paris AFP in English 2314 GMT 29 Sep 93*

[Excerpts] Lagos, Sep 29 (AFP)—Police arrested 58 pro-democracy activists Wednesday [29 September] at the start of a three-day national protest calling for the resignation of the military-installed interim government. The Campaign for Democracy (CD), an umbrella organisation grouping about 40 pro-democracy and human rights groups, said students and trades unionists were among those detained.

Police in the morning had used batons and tear-gas to disperse some 500 people in the Ikeja District who were planning to march on the headquarters of Lagos State Governor Michael Otedola. The march, organised to support the presumed winner of the annulled June presidential poll, Moshood Abiola, fizzled into failure as pro-democracy protesters failed to rally the Lagos masses. Later a CD delegation headed by its Chairman Beko Ransome-Kuti, presented Otedola with its demands that Nigeria's unelected interim government, led by businessman Ernest Shonekan, stand down in favour of Abiola. [passage omitted]

The CD statement listed other demands including the scrapping of banning orders on a number of media organisations, the release of all pro-democracy activists still in detention and the organisation of a national conference to discuss Nigeria's political crisis. The CD vowed to make the country ungovernable if the Shonekan administration failed to meet its demands, and reiterated its refusal to take part in presidential elections set for February 19. Any presidential poll organised by the interim government would be disrupted, it warned.

#### **Work Stoppage Call Unheeded in Lagos Metropolis**

*AB3009133893 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] The stay-at-home order by some prodemocracy groups in the country was not observed in Lagos State. Radio Nigeria correspondents who went round the Lagos metropolis observed that people went about their businesses. However, some commercial vehicles and private cars did not ply the routes as a result of fuel scarcity. Our correspondents report that fuel shortage which started again in Lagos State since Monday [27 September], has had no bearing with the so-called groups's call to stay at home.

Commercial activities were carried out as usual in the heart of the city of Lagos yesterday, while other normal economic activities went on without hindrance. Most of those interviewed explained that they did not heed the call because of the adverse effects former calls had on their commercial pursuits. They complained that they were yet to recover from the loss they suffered during the

past exercise and, therefore, suggested that the pro-democracy groups should devise other means of pursuing their cause.

#### **Niger Emissary Delivers 'Special' Message to Shonekan**

*AB3009135393 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 30 Sep 93*

[Text] Niger Republic has called for closer cooperation with Nigeria in the areas of commerce and agriculture. The defense minister of that country, Mr. Tahirou Amadou, made the call yesterday in Abuja while delivering a special message from President Mahamane Ousmane to the head of state, Chief Shonekan. Mr. Ousmane said that Niger was watching the political situation in Nigeria in view of the close ties between the two countries. He expressed the hope that the interim national government will soon restore normalcy to the country's political system.

Responding, Chief Shonekan assured the envoy that Nigerians were committed to finding a solution to their internal problems.

#### **Correction to Governors Reject Talks**

*WA0110143093*

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Governors Reject Talks Between Interim Government, Abiola," published in the 30 September issue of the Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, page 12:

Column two, first graf, first sentence, make read: ...dialogue on whatever grounds between the interim... (clearing indistinct word "grounds")

Same graf, third sentence, make read: ...They stated that revisiting the annulled June... (clearing indistinct word "revisiting")

Last graf, second sentence, make read: ...any attempt to revisit closed issues will be strongly... (clearing indistinct, queried words)

Same graf, penultimate sentence, make read: ...though Nigerians voted across ethnic lines in the June... (clearing indistinct words)

Same graf, same sentence, make read: ...only voted for its kinsman, but is currently... (clearing indistinct words)

Same graf, last sentence, make read: ...pointed out that all those who stand for justice and equity must not only believe in peace, but must also... (changing "although" to "all those" and clearing indistinct words)

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